The image shows the front cover of a book. The main part of the cover is decorated with a marbled paper pattern, specifically a 'stone' or 'shell' pattern, featuring large, irregular, light-colored (cream or off-white) spots or 'cells' set against a darker, mottled background of brown, tan, and grey. Thin, irregular veins of red, green, and blue are interspersed throughout the marbling. The spine of the book, visible on the left, is bound in a dark, textured material, likely black leather or cloth. A small, rectangular, light-colored paper label is affixed to the spine, containing the text 'Z 232 B8W2' in a simple, black, sans-serif font. The corners of the book show some wear, and the overall appearance is that of an older, well-used volume.

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GRAVE OF WILLIAM BRADFORD.



AN  
A D D R E S S  
DELIVERED AT THE  
Celebration by the New York Historical Society,  
MAY 20, 1863, OF THE  
TWO HUNDREDTH BIRTH DAY

OF

**Mr. William Bradford,**

WHO

INTRODUCED THE ART OF PRINTING INTO THE MIDDLE  
COLONIES OF BRITISH AMERICA.

BY

**JOHN WILLIAM WALLACE**

OF PHILADELPHIA.

*Published, with an Introductory Note, in Pursuance of a Resolution of the  
New York Historical Society.*

PARTS OMITTED IN THE DELIVERY BEING NOW INSERTED.

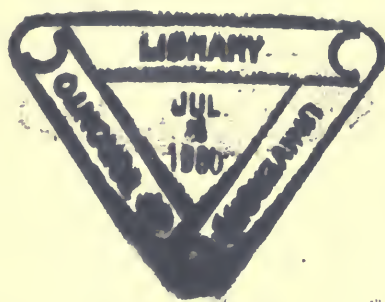
"So that herein I may but be serviceable to the Truth and the Friends thereof."

WILLIAM BRADFORD,

"The first of the first month 1687."



ALBANY, N. Y.:  
J. MUNSELL, 78 STATE STREET.  
1863.



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TO THE MEMORY OF  
THE HONOURABLE LUTHER BRADISH, ESQUIRE, LL. D.,

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOUR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK,  
PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY,

A frequent Delegate to Conventions of

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

THE INSCRIPTION OF THIS ADDRESS,

Commemorative of the First Printer of the Middle Colonies of British America;

Whose name was long connected with the early history of New York;

Who first on this Hemisphere proposed to print the Holy Scriptures in English

And to accompany them by the Book of Common Prayer,

OF RIGHT IS DUE.

DELIVERED ON AN OCCASION WHICH HE ASSISTED TO ORIGINATE, AND WHICH AS

ITS PRESIDING OFFICER,

HIS DIGNITY AND GRACE MADE IMPRESSIVE AND DELIGHTFUL,

It is now, since his death,

MOURNFULLY AND WITH SENTIMENTS OF GRATEFUL RECOLLECTION

DEDICATED TO HIS NAME AND HONOUR.

---


PHILADELPHIA, SEPTEMBER, 1863.







## INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

OR many years past the idea had been entertained by members of the New York Historical Society that some public commemoration should be made in this State of the character and services of WILLIAM BRADFORD, by whom the Art of Printing had been introduced into New York, and indeed into the Middle Colonies of British America generally. Little was known by the publick at large of his Life ; but every incident which had come down to us, served to reveal a character of much more than common accomplishment and strength. Yet the name of this remarkable person, while indeed it could never be forgotten, seemed, for a time, destined to become a matter of dim traditionary record ; and in another century might be still further lost to the publick knowledge and regard. THE BRADFORD CLUB, established in this city a few years ago, by a small Association of tasteful and opulent lovers of literature, was the first indication that the people of this great Metropolis were not unmindful of the blessings which, through Bradford's efforts, the Art of Printing had bestowed upon us ; blessings, indeed, like other gifts of a benignant Providence, not always rightly enjoyed ; often indeed abused ; sometimes even, through our own passions and depravity, turned into calamities themselves ; but blessings not the less, if used as the author of them designed that they should be, to the improvement of our minds and edification of our hearts.

There seemed too, indeed, in our very obligations to the National Fame, to be something of a publick kind due from the body which, in this great city of New York, represented more especially the Historical instincts and duties of the Country. While it has been truly observed that either

personal or national vanity may become bloated on the contempt and ridicule of the rest of the world, it had been remarked at the same time that an honourable self-dependence, a manly self-reliance, can be inspired in no way so well as by contemplating as external to ourselves, the monuments of one's own character and abilities. "Our country in its origin was little else than a concourse of individual persons, aggregated but not associated, and of companies clustered but not combined. Gradually this dust and powder of individuality had tended to an organization; a definite principle of social life had been evolved. Characteristicks of a National Existence have been perceived, and have deepened and multiplied as time has gone on. In every thing the dead-reckoning, which carried forward the old wisdom into the new region had failed, and new observations have required to be taken. A thousand tokens in every thing from which we could prognosticate, made it manifest that a spirit indigenous and self-vital, inhabits our country; a spirit of power, *"ipsa suis pollens opibus."* We have an American Literature. Why should we not have an American Bibliography? An American Bibliography did in fact already exist; and in the very city of New York, the issues of Day's, or of Green's, or of the eldest Bradford's Press, have, ever since the institution of the Bradford Club, commanded better prices than a good Aldus, or a good Stephens, or even than a good Caxton itself would command in any city of the world. No Bradford was now seen that was not instantly purchased, collated, washed, bound with elegance, and treasured with care.

Public attention had also been frequently called of late to the decaying state of Bradford's tomb-stone in the grave-yard of Trinity Church; a memorial well enough in its time, but erected in the day of our small things, decayed by the lapse of more than a hundred years, and injured not very long ago by accidents occurring in the building of the present Church. Nobles and men of wealth in London, displaying their taste and liberality through the incorporation of The Roxburgh Club, had placed within St. Margaret's Chapel at Westminster, where Caxton reared his Press, an enduring record of their grateful recollection. "Why shall not we"—was the feeling of many gentlemen in New York, not less noble, we may hope, in all that constitutes the true nobility of man, 'the graces of an erect and manly spirit'—"do the same honour to ourselves and Bradford?" Trinity, herself, it was observed, had not been backward in raising tributes to her worthy children in whatever sphere of usefulness they have

discharged their duties to their God and man. And no more welcome sight, as many had observed, could greet the *true* Republican than the cenotaph which she had erected to THOMAS SWORDS, Bookseller and Publisher of our own city, within those same, her consecrated walls, where she honours the integrity and learning and judgment of Richard Harrison; the genius and patriotism and statesmanship of Hamilton, the exalted piety of Hobart himself.

It was under feelings and impressions of this kind, that at a stated meeting of the New York Historical Society, held December 2nd, 1862, Mr. G. H. Moore introduced for consideration, the subject of a "*Publick Commemoration of the Birth-Day of William Bradford on its Two hundredth Anniversary in the year 1863*;" and that the matter—very favourably received at its first suggestion by the Body—was referred to the Executive Committee for further action. This Committee having with ardour and unanimity agreed in the propriety of such a Celebration, arrangements were undertaken to have the event commemorated with becoming effect and dignity. It was understood that Mr. Verplanck, alike one of the most respected and venerable members of Trinity Church Vestry, and of the Historical Society of New York, had introduced the subject of a more enduring Memorial over Bradford's grave to the Corporation of the Church just named: and that this matter, with a proper Religious Office, would engage the attention of that Body. The next matter was the subject of an Address; a subject which occupied the most active interest of the Committee. The office, to whomsoever intrusted, was one of no slight difficulty. It seemed desirable, as Bradford had first established the Press in Pennsylvania, and was the founder there of that long line of Printers, who in the language of one of the Patriots of 1776, had "universally distinguished themselves by devoting the Press to the preservation and extension of the liberties of their country," that the Orator of the Occasion should be some gentleman of Pennsylvania.

The following correspondence now accordingly took place.

LIBRARY OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, }  
NEW YORK CITY, FEBRUARY 28TH, 1863. }

TO JOHN WILLIAM WALLACE, Esquire,  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania:

Sir—The New York Historical Society having resolved to Commemorate by suitable acts and proceedings the Birth-Day of William Bradford (our first Printer, and



who introduced the Art into the Middle Colonies generally), on its Two Hundredth Anniversary May 20th, 1863, we have the honour to invite you, on behalf of the Society, to deliver the Address on that occasion.

Your interest in this subject as a Descendant of Bradford, whose memory they propose to honour, and a citizen of Philadelphia, where he was the first to practice the Art of Arts, induces us to hope that you will gratify the Society by accepting the invitation.

We have the honor to be, &c.,

L. BRADISH,	JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD,
GEO. FOLSOM,	GEORGE BANCROFT,
GEO. BRUCE,	ANDREW WARNER,
J. CARSON BREVOORT,	G. C. VERPLANCK,
GEO. H. MOORE,	AUGUSTUS SCHELL,

WM. MENZIES.

The Committee were in due time gratified by Mr. Wallace's favourable reply.

728 SPRUCE ST., PHILADELPHIA, MARCH 11th, 1863.

Gentlemen—I am obliged by the invitation with which you honour me.

I cannot but feel, in looking at such names as are subscribed to it, that there are not a few gentlemen in your own Society far better qualified than I can possibly be, to address that body on the interesting anniversary which you propose to celebrate.

My high respect, however, for the Historical Society of New York, and for the eminent gentlemen who on this occasion are its organs, will not allow me to decline a wish of theirs so conveyed. And I accept, even with consciousness of inability to discharge it as I could wish, an office to which, in a manner equally flattering to myself and to the city in which some events in Bradford's earlier career took place, you have been good enough to invite me.

I have the honour to be, gentlemen,

With perfect truth, your faithful servant,

J. W. WALLACE.

To the Honourable LUTHER BRADISH, GEORGE FOLSOM, GEO. BRUCE, J. CARSON BREVOORT, GEO. H. MOORE, JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD, GEORGE BANCROFT, ANDREW WARNER, G. C. VERPLANCK, AUGUSTUS SCHELL, and WM. MENZIES, Esquires.

As it was known that there would be many persons from other cities, persons specially invited by the Society or otherwise likely to be present, and that the occasion would excite uncommon interest in the city of New York, it was resolved that the Commemorative Address should be delivered in the HALL OF THE UNION, Cooper Institute. The following announcement, which was made some days previously in most of the papers of New York, will give the course of the Ceremonies which were contemplated :



## NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

## THE BRADFORD COMMEMORATION,

MAY 20th, 1863.

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY proposes to commemorate, on its Two Hundredth Anniversary, the birth-day of WILLIAM BRADFORD, who introduced the art of Printing into the Middle Colonies of British America, by an address and other appropriate proceedings. The address will be delivered by JOHN WILLIAM WALLACE, Esq., of Philadelphia, at the Hall of the Union, Cooper Institute, in the city of New York, on Wednesday evening, the 20th of May, at 8 o'clock.

Each member of the Society will receive, on application, two single tickets of admission, which must be applied for at the Library, or to Col. Warner, No. 516 Broadway, on or before Monday, the 18th inst.

Members of the Press and veteran printers, and any descendants of William Bradford, who may be present in the city, are requested to make themselves known to the Committee, in order that they may be duly invited to attend.

The Society will hold a reception at the Library, on Tuesday evening, May 21st, at 8 o'clock. Members who wish to secure invitations to the reception, must apply as above immediately, as the number is of necessity very strictly limited, and they will be issued in the order of application until exhausted.

The Corporation of Trinity Church, of which William Bradford was a Vestryman, from 1703 to 1710, have provided for the restoration of the tomb-stone erected to his memory in 1752, and a Special Service will be held on the occasion at the church, on Wednesday afternoon, May 20th, at 3 o'clock. The members of the Society and their guests are invited to participate in the ceremonies at the church.

An "*Order of Services to be held in Trinity Church May 20th, 1863, on the Occasion of the Restoration of the Tomb-Stone of William Bradford, Deceased May 13th, 1752,*" had been prepared under the direction of Trinity Church, and was now given forth "BY AUTHORITY." The whole of the proceedings, both at the Church and subsequently, have been so well narrated by the accomplished pen of HORATIO GATES JONES, Esq., who, as Chairman of the Delegation appointed by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, to represent that honourable Body at the celebration, had occasion to make a Report of the ceremonies to his constituent Society, that we can do no better than present the Account much in Mr. JONES's own language.

The service was a special one—the usual order for Daily Evening Prayer being varied by the appointment of special and appropriate lessons; the first was in these majestic words:

**The Wisdom of Solomon.**

Chap. iii to verse 10.

**B**UT the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there shall no torment touch them.

In the sight of the unwise they seemed to die; and their departure is taken for misery,

And their going from us to be utter destruction; but they are in peace.

For though they be punished in the sight of men, yet is their hope full of immortality.

And having been a little chastised, they shall be greatly rewarded; for God proved them and found them worthy for himself.

As gold in the furnace hath he tried them, and received them as a burnt offering.

And in the time of their visitation they shall shine, and run to and fro like sparks among the stubble.

They shall judge the nations, and have dominion over the people, and their Lord shall reign forever.

They that put their trust in him shall understand the truth: and such as be faithful in love shall abide with him: for grace and mercy is to his Saints, and he hath care for his elect.

The second lesson was in this consolatory passage of the New Testament:

**St. Paul's First Epistle to the Thessalonians.**

Chap. iv. Verses 13-18.

**B**UT I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope.

For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him.

For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep.

For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the Archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first:

Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord.

Wherefore comfort one another with these words.

The fifth selection of Psalms had been substituted for that portion of the Psalter appropriated to the twentieth evening of the month. It was as follows:

Selection Fifth.

Pfalm i. *Beatus vir, qui non abiit.*

**B**LESSED is the man that hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, and hath not sat in the seat of the scornful.

But his delight is in the Law of the Lord; and in his Law will he exercise himself day and night.

And he shall be like a tree planted by the water-side, that will bring forth his fruit in due season.

His leaf also shall not wither; and look, whatsoever he doeth, it shall prosper.

As for the ungodly, it is not so with them; but they are like the chaff, which the wind scattereth away from the face of the earth.

Therefore the ungodly shall not be able to stand in the judgment, neither the sinners in the congregation of the righteous.

But the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous; and the way of the ungodly shall perish.

Pfalm xv. *Domine, quis habitabit?*

**L**ORD, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle? or who shall rest upon thy holy hill?

Even he that leadeth an uncorrupt life, and doeth the thing which is right, and speaketh the truth from his heart.

He that hath used no deceit in his tongue, nor done evil to his neighbour, and hath not slandered his neighbour.

He that setteth not by himself, but is lowly in his own eyes, and maketh much of them that fear the Lord.

He that sweareth unto his neighbour, and disappointeth him not, though it were to his own hindrance.

He that hath not given his money upon usury, nor taken reward against the innocent.

Whoso doeth these things shall never fall.

Pfalm xci. *Qui habitat.*

**W**HOSO dwelleth under the defence of the Most High, shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty.

I will say unto the Lord, Thou art my hope, and my strong hold; my God, in him will I trust.

For he shall deliver thee from the snare of the hunter, and from the noisome pestilence.

He shall defend thee under his wings, and thou shalt be safe under his feathers; his faithfulness and truth shall be thy shield and buckler.

Thou shalt not be afraid for any terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day;

For the pestilence that walketh in darkness, nor for the sickness that destroyeth in the noon-day.

A thousand shall fall beside thee, and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee.

Yea, with thine eyes shalt thou behold, and see the reward of the ungodly.

For thou, Lord, art my hope; thou hast set thine house of defence very high.

There shall no evil happen unto thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling.

For he shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways.

They shall bear thee in their hands, that thou hurt not thy foot against a stone.

Thou shalt go upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou tread under thy feet.

Because he hath set his love upon me, therefore will I deliver him; I will set him up, because he hath known my Name.

He shall call upon me, and I will hear him; yea, I am with him in trouble; I will deliver him, and bring him to honour.

With long life will I satisfy him, and show him my salvation.

The service was full choral and was exquisitely sung. Ten clergymen in their surplices, with no less than thirty choristers, robed also in white, took part in it. Among the clergy were the Reverend the Rector of Trinity Church, New York; the Rev. Mr. Lamson, Rector of Trinity Church in the City of Paris, then Providentially present; the Rev. Dr. Vinton, the Rev. Dr. Ogilby, the Rev. Dr. Weston of St. John's; the Rev. Dr. Haight of St. Paul's, with other dignitaries of Trinity and various churches, who from the interest of the occasion had been honoured by invitations. After the Evening Service, thus specially adapted, was concluded, the clergy, choristers, wardens and vestry of Trinity, forming a procession, led the way through the main portal of the edifice. These were followed by the Honourable Luther Bradish, President of the New York Historical Society, and the Honourable George Bancroft, the Foreign Secretary, between whom was the ORATOR of the day, and next in order a Committee of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania with an escort of members specially delegated from the Historical Society of New York. The whole line went forth in this order to the ancient grave of William Bradford in the burial ground of Trinity Church. Arriving at that spot, the choristers and accompanying procession arranged themselves in double lines around the grave where the whole choir chanted antiphonally the one hundred and twelfth Psalm of the prose version of the Book of Common Prayer, in these words:



Pſalm cxii. *Beatus vir.*

**B**LESSED is the man that feareth the Lord; he hath great delight in his commandments.

His seed ſhall be mighty upon earth; the generation of the faithful ſhall be bleſſed.

Riches and plenteouſneſs ſhall be in his houſe; and his righteouſneſs endureth for ever.

Unto the godly there ariſeth up light in the darkneſs; he is merciful, loving, and righteous.

A good man is merciful, and lendeth; and will guide his words with diſcretion.

For he ſhall never be moved: and the righteous ſhall be had in everlaſting remembrance.

He will not be afraid of any evil tidings; for his heart ſtandeth faſt, and believeth in the Lord.

His heart is eſtabliſhed, and will not ſhrink, until he ſee his deſire upon his enemies.

He hath diſperſed abroad, and given to the poor, and his righteouſneſs remaineth for ever; his horn ſhall be exalted with honor.

The ungodly ſhall ſee it, and it ſhall grieve him; he ſhall gnaſh with his teeth, and conſume away; the deſire of the ungodly ſhall periſh.

The Reverend Dr. Haight now made the following addreſs :

**CHRISTIAN BRETHREN** :—It is written in the word of God that the righteous ſhall be had in everlaſting remembrance, and that the memory of the juſt is bleſſed. And, therefore, it is decent and proper that we ſhould preſerve their memorial, and duly honor them, although they have paſſed away. Wherefore, accounting this to be an act of religion pleaſing and acceptable to the Moſt High, and not without profit to the men of this generation, we have cauſed to be reſtored this monumental ſtone, upon the grave of William Bradford, whoſe ſoul it pleaſed Almighty God, in His wiſe Providence, on the 13th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1752, to take out of the care of this world. And we do hereby replace the ſaid ſtone upon our brother's grave, aſcribing the praiſe to God, unto whom alone all praiſe is due, for what good deeds ſoever His ſervant was enabled to perform here upon earth; and eſpecially remembering, with thankfulneſs, that he whoſe mortal body doth here await the reſurrection, was the firſt to iſſue propoſals on this continent to print the Holy Scriptures in Engliſh, and to accompany them with the Book of Common Prayer, which thing he did on the 14th day of January, 1688. And now we humbly commend this and all our works unto Him, who alone is able to bleſs us and ſave us, beſeeching Him to accept the ſame, and to grant unto us, and to all thoſe who are departed in the true faith of His holy name, that we may have our perfect conſummation and bliſs in His eternal kingdom. "I heard a voice from Heaven ſaying unto me: Write, Bleſſed are the "dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, faith the Spirit, that they may "reſt from their labors: And their works do follow them."

**B**

The Address being ended, the new Monument—a handsome erection of Italian marble, with a strong double pedestal—was reared upon the spot where Bradford's body was interred one hundred and eleven years ago. Appropriate prayers (intoned) and the Minor Benediction concluded the sacred service.

The Municipal Authorities of New York in honour of the man by whom so great an Art as Printing had been first introduced into their State and City, and who was the earliest Printer to the City Corporation itself, had given orders that the passage of all carriages of every sort through this part of Broadway should be arrested during these solemn ceremonies. The stillness of that great thoroughfare at this, the busiest hour of the Metropolis; with the procession of the white-robed ministers and choir through the ancient cemetery—at this season clothed in the verdure of Spring and emblematic of the very resurrection of the body in whose sure and certain hope all now stood around the grave of this venerable son of the Church,—with the pealing strains of the many-voiced fingers, produced an effect at once charming and impressive. The day was beautiful and the air soft and wooing. The windows and roofs of adjacent houses were occupied by spectators eager to catch a view of a scene so unusual and so worthy of long remembrance.

At 8 o'clock in the evening of this same day, the various committees from other places, and those persons who had been invited to a seat on the platform, were received by the Honourable Mr. Bradish, the President, and by the other principal officers of the New York Historical Society, at the Ante Room of the Hall of the Union, in the Cooper Institute, whence they proceeded into the Hall itself. This large room was now filled by distinguished persons of New York—a very large number being ladies. Upon the platform were most of the Literati of the metropolis, and many persons eminent in military, judicial and other office. The Press both of New York and of other States was represented; and among its representatives from other places was Mr. Welch of the University Press of Cambridge, the representative, in a direct line, of the printing office of STEPHEN DAYE, who first established the press in the Eastern States. The hearty zeal, indeed, with which this gentleman had joined in the Celebration of the honours paid to Bradford was not the least agreeable incident of the commemoration. "Standing at Cambridge," was his language, "at the head of the oldest printing house in America, established by 'STEPHEN DAYE in 1639, and looking back to him and WILLIAM BRAD-

“FORD, I can but thank God that they devoted their lives to so noble and christianizing art. I gladly join in the honours of this day.” Mr. Peter Force of Washington, not less known by his exhaustless treasures of historical works and papers, than by the zeal with which he places them at the service of his country, was a fit representative of the city which we all look to as bearing the honoured name of WASHINGTON, and to be forever the capital of the *United States*. The Honorable Mr. Pennington, of New Jersey, represented that State where Bradford is supposed by some to have first established his press; in whose keeping—within the precincts of St. Mary’s Episcopal Church at Burlington—repose the ashes of his great grandson, the Honourable WILLIAM BRADFORD, Esquire, Attorney-General of the United States during the Presidency of Washington; and where the descendants of that Bradford we commemorate, long did honour to his name. The Rector, Church Wardens and Vestrymen of Trinity, with the Rev. Dr. Ogilby and others of its dignitaries, represented the great corporation of Trinity which had taken such honourable part in the services at an earlier hour of the day; as did the Reverend Thomas De Witt, D. D., the Dutch Collegiate Church of New York, the first religious body in respect of date and one of the first in influence and usefulness of any of the churches of that State. Many of the descendants of Bradford, some of them from New England, some from New York, some from New Jersey, and others from our own State, were present as invited guests.

The blessing of Almighty God upon the services of the evening having been invoked by the Rev. Dr. DeWitt, the Honorable Luther Bradish, President of the Society, then introduced to the audience the Orator of the evening, Mr. WALLACE, who proceeded to deliver the Commemorative Address. It occupied about an hour. Certain parts omitted in the delivery, as also Notes, will be found in it as now published.

When the speaker had resumed his seat, the Honorable Gulian C. Verplanck, seconded by the Honourable George Bancroft, moved the following Resolutions, which were unanimously adopted by the whole Historical Society and Audience.

Resolved, That the thanks of the New York Historical Society be presented to JOHN WILLIAM WALLACE, Esq., of Philadelphia, for the able, instructive and eloquent address which he has delivered before the Society in commemoration of William Bradford, who introduced the Art of Printing into the Middle Colonies.

Resolved, That Mr. Wallace be requested to furnish a copy of his address to be de-



posited in the Archives of the Society and published under the direction of the Executive Committee.

Mr. Verplanck, in offering the motion, and Mr. Bancroft in seconding it, after certain expressions highly complimentary to the gentleman by whom the Address had been delivered, favoured the audience with some interesting remarks; Mr. Verplanck in the form of reminiscences of Printers who had succeeded Bradford in later generations and came down to the beginning of this century, with some thoughtful and well reasoned conjectures as to the influences which Bradford had had on the formation of the character of JOHN PETER ZENGER. Zenger, he observed, had been educated in Bradford's office.\* From Bradford he had probably learned those notions which, as an Editor, governed his conduct and were so ably and successfully enforced on his well known Trial in 1735. Zenger's Trial had excited a singular degree of interest in Great Britain. It had been reprinted in England and was incorporated into *The State Trials*. Mr. Fox, it is known, often referred to it; and there was no great doubt, Mr. Verplanck suggested, that he had drawn from it in a good degree those inspirations which gave such liberality to his own views about the press. To Bradford, therefore, the Law of Libel as fixed at this day in England might directly and specifically be traced. "So true," said Mr. Verplanck, "was the declaration made in one of Bradford's earliest publications on this Continent,

'No man is born unto himself alone.'

Mr. Bancroft paid an eloquent tribute to the mission of the press generally, and a well merited and happily expressed eulogy upon the character and services of Mr. Force. A Benediction by the Reverend the Rector of Trinity Church, closed the evening.

On Thursday at one o'clock, the Philadelphia delegation, with Mr. Wallace and certain strangers of distinction, including the Hon. J. A. Poor of Portland, well known in connection with most interesting historical researches as to the State of Maine, were invited to a *dejeuner* at the residence of the Hon. George Folsom on Stuyvesant Square. A portion of the

\* Zenger was one of what were called the 'Palatine children.' He was sent over here with a number of other children by the British Government after the wars of the Palatinate. The original indenture of his apprenticeship to Bradford dated 26th of October, 1710, and in which he is described as being thirteen years old, and the son of Hannah Zenger, is preserved, through the care of Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan, in the Secretary of State's office at Albany.—(See *Indentures of Palatine Children*, 1710-11.)



time passed at Mr. Folsom's was occupied in examining, before the *dejeuner*, with Mr. Bradish and other gentlemen, the rare and elegant works which, with others of a more useful kind merely, are contained in Mr. Folsom's library, the value and extent of which are so generally known that a more special account of it is unnecessary.

On the evening of that same day a Reception was given at the Hall of the Historical Society. The company, which included ladies in full dress, began to arrive at about nine o'clock. The whole of the building was opened to the guests—all parts including the picture gallery and rooms being lighted. In the vestibule of the main hall a fac-simile of the original tombstone at Bradford's grave, was suspended on the wall; the frame being covered with laurel leaves and roses entwined. A fine band of musick assisted in giving variety to the exercises, and Dancing occupied the junior portion of the Company.

In the course of the evening it was suggested that a few words from some of the Philadelphia Delegation, as a little variation even on a festive and brilliant scene, would be acceptable to the company. The delegation was accordingly introduced from one of the galleries to the audience which was assembled in various parts of the hall, in a few informal remarks by Mr. John Romeyn Brodhead, of the New York Historical Society. These were briefly responded to by Mr. Horatio Gates Jones, Chairman of the Philadelphia committee. During his remarks Mr. Jones introduced to the company, by which he was received with hearty plaudits, Mr. Robert Carr, of Philadelphia, one of the very oldest printers living; whose honour it was to have corrected proof-sheets for the immortal WASHINGTON, and who had also been in the service of Benjamin Franklin, and frequently, as a boy, while in the printing office of Franklin's grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, had conversed with that remarkable man. Mr. Carr, who afterwards conversed with several of the company, gave one or two striking anecdotes of these eminent persons in connexion with the press.

Everything done or spoken was of an informal kind, such as was suggested by the bland and exhilarating inspiration of the scene. Soon after this, supper was announced, and the whole company preceded by Governor Bradish, who had on his arm Mr. Wallace, the Orator of the preceding evening, and who were followed by the Pennsylvania Delegation and the chief officers of the New York Society, were ushered into the supper-room, where they partook of an elegant entertainment.

Mr. JONES, in behalf of the Philadelphia Delegation, concludes his Report in the following terms, very gratifying to the Historical Society at whose suggestion the Celebration was had :

The whole occasion has left the most agreeable impression on your committee, and they doubt not on the numerous strangers who participated in the various enjoyments referred to. As a bond of kind feeling between the people of New York and those of the places whose representatives were present, its strong and kindly influence can not soon pass away. Far more than this. In these impressive honours rendered to a long departed benefactor of his race and country, and in this effort to restore to public recollection and interest his name and services, in the great chief city of our land, by so ancient, opulent and truly respectable a religious body as Trinity Church, and by a Historical Society, which for wealth, numbers and discriminating judgment in the bestowal of public honours, is so well known, VIRTUE itself has received new rewards and stronger incentives, and the moral instincts of a whole people have been quickened, refreshed and invigorated. Such a Celebration, suggested, carried on, and accomplished at a crisis, when other lands might suppose that we had no thoughts but for the calamities of civil war, proves at once how exhaustless are the spirits and energy of this people; how attendant upon all other worthy ambitions, are their moral and intellectual aspirations and how deep and abiding their reverence for the benefactors in every age, of their race and nation.

The Historical Society of New York in giving Mr. Wallace's Address to the publick cannot deny themselves the pleasure of reproducing the Resolutions of their respected sister Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, as passed on the conclusion of the Celebration and the return of their Delegation to Philadelphia. They receive them as a high evidence of the justness and propriety of the Celebration recently had under their auspices; and of the hearty good will in which every where in our country honours are paid to departed worth and greatness.

At a meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, held in their Rooms June 8th, 1863, the Honourable OSWALD THOMSON, in the Chair. HORATIO GATES JONES, Esquire, having read a Report from the Delegation recently appointed by this Society to assist at the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Birth-day of WILLIAM BRADFORD :

On motion of WILLIAM DUANE, Esq., seconded by Col. JAMES ROSS SNOWDEN, the following resolutions with the report were unanimously adopted :

RESOLVED, That the thanks of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania are hereby offered to the New York Historical Society, for the splendid Commemoration on the 20th May, 1863, of the Two Hundredth Birth-day of WILLIAM BRADFORD, by whom the Art of Printing was first introduced into the Middle Colonies of British America, and in whose name and memory the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania will ever feel deep interest as having first landed on her shores and having here first established the

Art of Printing in the Middle Colonies of British America; though afterwards for sixty years a resident of New York, and having practiced there for half a century his art.

RESOLVED, That in the selection by the New York Historical Society of a citizen of Pennsylvania as the person to deliver the Commemorative Address on this great Historical Occasion, this Society recognizes an act of graceful justice towards this Commonwealth, and one by which the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is flattered and gratified.

RESOLVED, That the reception given to the delegation from this body at the Bradford Commemoration is such as calls for and receives our acknowledgements, and such as will leave a grateful impression upon this Society.

RESOLVED, That the thanks of this Society are hereby given to the Corporate Authorities of Trinity Church, New York, for the reverent care had by them of the ancient grave of WILLIAM BRADFORD, and for the beautiful and affecting services with which, on the Two Hundredth Anniversary of his birth, the said corporation replaced upon that sacred spot a monument designed to record for future generations the resting-place of the first Printer of the Middle Colonies of America.

RESOLVED, That a copy of this Report and Resolutions be transmitted to the Historical Society of New York, and to the Corporation of Trinity Church.









## COMMEMORATIVE ADDRESS.



I AM bound, first of all, Mr. President, and you, Ladies and Gentlemen, as a citizen of Pennsylvania, to express my sense of the honour you do that Commonwealth, by an invitation which, disregarding the far higher abilities of your own scholars, brings hither on this occasion one of her sons to address you. Notwithstanding that Bradford lived and laboured for sixty years in this city; that from the Province of New York he received the most liberal and most constant patronage which he received any where on this continent; that here, in credit and wealth, at great old age, he died; and that within the morning shadow of your own Trinity his ashes repose; you have desired by the invitation which brings my humble self before you to record a historick fact; the fact, to wit, that on the soil of Pennsylvania, he first set his feet when landing on these shores; that there was first kindled that light of letters which has since illuminated

the vast region which we now call The Middle States ; and that so, by ancient title, a sister Commonwealth partakes with you, in the inheritance of that fame, destined, by a celebration all your own, henceforth, to be an honoured one.

Pennsylvanians, I am sure, among the many and strong and deep-laid ligaments which bind them—and ever in Union shall bind them—to this Imperial State and City, will not regard as slight ones, if *my* sense of it be right, acts, like this, of high and courteous justice.

Two hundred years have passed since William Bradford was born : One hundred and ten since he died ; having then long withdrawn from every sort of occupation which would leave an earthly record. Not one of his descendants that I have heard of, nor any of the communities in which he lived—till now when centuries raise their heights to shut from view the past, and you first set the honourable example—have thought it of interest to investigate a career which perhaps they owed it as much to their own honour and the history of civilization as to him, to save from entire oblivion. His life was passed in two hemispheres, and in both hemispheres in different places. His residence in Pennsylvania—not a continuous residence at all—takes us well back into the reign of the Stuart kings, when the records of our State are few. When he came to this your city, New York had not extended further northward than to where Wall street now is ; along which line, the line of its outer defences, the city was enclosed by palisades. Four thousand was the number of your inhabitants, and of these one half, perhaps a larger number, were Hollanders. Here too, we are in early

times! Bradford has left us but little from his own pen, while the charming Autobiography of Franklin, on the other hand, has attracted to that remarkable person,

“Focus at once of all the rays of Fame,”

most of the slight interest which the early press of our country has inspired any where or with any one.\* From remote, and scattered, and scanty materials, therefore, must be gathered any sketch of the man we here commemorate; the Caxton of our Middle States. You will pardon me, I am sure, if the details are meagre, the characterization slight.

The exact date of Bradford's *birth* is settled by a record which he himself has left us in a singular but appropriate production of his own art. It would seem, indeed, as if the old man, having attained more than the term allotted to our race, and looking at that moment (the closing hours of 1738) over an eventful but yet fortunate career of seventy-six years, had felt that his connexion with the early establishment of letters in a new world, had given to any important event relating to his personal history, an interest which the ‘innumerable series of years’ and the ‘flight of time’ would but increase:

“——Uſque ego poſterâ  
Crefcam laude recens——”

seems to have been the prophetick conviction of his heart, when in “*The American Almanack for the Year of Christian Account, 1739,*” printed by himself, he entered and published to the world as one among its

\* See Appendix, Note 1.

important events the following for the month of May:

“The Printer Born the 20th, 1663.”\*

His parents were William and Anne Bradford, of Leicestershire, England. The family is reputed on fair evidence to have been an old one; and Bradford seems to have valued his privileges in this way; for though forbidden by his art from “writing himself *Armigero*,” he still sealed very carefully with Arms. I hold in my hand one of his letters dated “New York, September 11, 1709,” and visibly thus impressed. [Letter exhibited shewing the Arms of Bradford.†]

He was taught the art, which commends his name to our interest, in the office of Andrew Sowle, an extensive printer and publisher in London during the commonwealth and restoration.

We cannot doubt at all that Bradford was a very well behaved and most diligent apprentice; for he soon fell in love, and, as was quite according to the proprieties of the case, with his master’s daughter, Miss Elizabeth Sowle; whom in good time he married. He loved her none the less, I suppose, for being what in England is called “a co-heiress,” nor because, as such, her ancestral Arms became of right quartered on his own shield in subsequent descents.

\* See Appendix, Note 2.

† The Arms on this Letter, for the ability to shew which I was indebted to Horatio Gates Jones, Esquire, of Philadelphia, to whose rich collection it belongs, were apparently that branch of the family of Bradford belonging to *Yorkshire*; St. *Ar.* on a fesse *sable*, three stags’ heads erased *or*. The impression on the letter was not now traceable in all its differences, but the distinguishing marks of the Arms of Bradford—the three stags or goats’ heads—were still quite plain.



The influences which furrounded his training in the office where he was, were of the purest kind. Mr. Sowle, whose name indicates a Saxon origin, and of whom there is a printed Biography in the Religious Literature of his own day,\* was an excellent man, of stable fortune, intimately acquainted with the leaders of the Society of Friends, and affectionately esteemed in particular by Mr. Penn, who visited him in his last illness, and from whose pious consolations he derived some of those comforts which made even the hour of death, a happy and triumphant one. The general respect in which he was held, as well as Mr. Penn's confidence in him in particular, is manifested by his having been selected to be a witness to one of the charters of Pennsylvania.† It was no doubt owing to the affectionate relations between the father-in-law of Bradford, and Mr. Penn, that Bradford himself became acquainted, while a mere boy, with the great Proprietary; and that printing was finally introduced into these Middle States under the auspices of a youth who as yet had only completed his 22d year.

Mr. Penn was desirous to give to his prospective colony the benefit of the Printing Press, and being now about to sail on his first voyage for Pennsylvania, Bradford accompanied him.‡ They embarked at Deal

\* Piety Promoted in Brief Memorials of the Virtuous Lives, Services and Dying Sayings of Some People called Quakers; by John Tomkins and others, London, 1789, vol ii.

† See Fac Simile of Seal and Signatures in John Jay Smith's Autograph Curiosities.

‡ Dixon's Life of Penn, p. 263. London, 1851; Armstrong's Address before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1852, pp. 22, 23.

on the 1st September, 1682. It was a memorable voyage. They were scarcely well upon the main before contagious pestilence—the horrid scourge of small pox—broke out on board their little ship. Of one hundred persons who embarked, thirty, including the master, died at sea, and were committed to the deep. After one month and twenty-seven days of suffering and terror, the blessed sight of land rewarded their endurance. Bradford and his surviving comrades landed on the 28th November, 1682, at a small place called New Castle, below Philadelphia; that city not having as yet been laid out, nor a house there built. The arrival of *The Welcome*, which was the name of the ship, has been celebrated by commemorations in Philadelphia, and her list of Passengers is with us considered a Battle Abbey Roll.\*

Bradford, at this time, was not twenty years of age. I have said that he married the daughter of Mr. Sowle. Whether the event took place, as Tradition in Pennsylvania delivers, prior to his coming here in 1682, or as some have suggested, afterwards, and on his return to England, whither he went prior to his coming here finally in 1685, no record enables me to say. But this, it seems, is certain, that whether the lady was his wife or his betrothed, only, she remained in her father's comfortable home in London. Mr. Sowle, it is likely, interposed to "*put off* the marriage," as young ladies say. He probably thought that "*having it now*" might lead to too romantick an enterprize, and so gave the young *typo* leave to examine for himself, under

\* See Armstrong's Address before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 8th November, 1851.

the auspices of Mr. Penn, the attractions of the New World before he should take an inexperienced young girl to share any want of them with him. Bradford, I suspect—I don't know how it was with Miss Elizabeth—though she too, perhaps, felt that “Papa was making a very long engagement, and wondered what people would say”—Bradford, I suspect, thought that good old Mr. Sowle was very hard of heart and made but slight allowance for a damsel and her lover in all that anxious, blissful state described by naughty Thomas Moore :

“When two mutual hearts are sighing  
For that knot there's no UN-tying.”

The venerated friend of William Penn, it is likely, read the New Testament oftener than he did the plays of Shakespeare; and in his estimation, no doubt, ‘Phœbe’ and ‘Priscilla,’ of whom the world knows little but that Paul thought them worthy of *his* commendation and *his* greeting, were better models of the heroine than either Juliet or Desdemona. And so, in truth, they were.

How long Bradford now remained in America, or where he passed his time, is uncertain. I suppose this visit to have been one somewhat of exploration; and that he may have traveled pretty much over the whole region which he seems, on his return in 1685, to have entered on as the field of his operations.

In the spring of 1685, being then, it is certain, in London, he made preparations to establish himself finally on this Western Continent. He has already received the countenance of William Penn, the Chief



of State ; and he now fortifies himself with letters of recommendation and testimony from George Fox, the renowned head of the Church ;—the respectable society of Friends, in Pennsylvania. The letter of Fox is dated ‘*London, 6 month, 1685,*’ and is addressed to many eminent Quakers by name, in Rhode Island, East Jersey, West Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. Thus it reads :\*

“DEAR FRIENDS :

“This is to let you know that a sober young man, whose name is William Bradford, comes to Pennsylvania, to set up the trade of printing Friends’ books. And let Friends know of it in Virginia, Carolina, *Long Island,*” [New York is not mentioned more nearly than this : I suppose because there were no Quakers here,] “and Friends in Plymouth Patent and Boston. And what books you want he may supply you with ; or Answers against Apostates or wicked Professors books. He may furnish you with our Answers ; for he intends to keep a correspondence with Friends that are Stationers or Printers here in England ; and so whatever books come out and are printed by Friends here, they may send some of each sort over every year. So he settling to print at *Philadelphia*, may serve all those countries, namely : Pennsylvania, East and West Jersey, *Long Island, Boston, Wintbrop’s Country, Plymouth Patent, Pifbaban,*” [Where exactly *Pifbaban* is I don’t know. Possibly some of you ladies can tell us. I will not venture to suggest that by this outlandish title Fox referred to New York itself,] “*Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina.* And so you may do well to encourage him. He is a civil young man and convinced of truth.” [By this last expression I presume that George Fox meant that Bradford was “convinced of truth” as he, George, taught it ; in other words that he was a Quaker, and considered that he, to wit, George Fox aforesaid, was the legitimate successor of St. Peter upon earth ; and as such possessed of the keys.]

“He was apprentice with our friend Andrew Sowle ; since married his daughter. And so,” [the sequence is not absolutely clear] “so you

\* The original is in the possession of Mr. F. M. Etting of Philadelphia. (*Historical Magazine and Notes and Queries*, vol. iv, New York, 1860, p. 52.)



“ may make an order that he shall not permit any Friends’ books among you but what Friends in the Ministry do there approve of ; as they do here in England. And consider to settle what number each meeting may take off. And I perceive he brings many Primers and new books. And what books you want you may send to him for : if he have them not he can send to England for them.” [You see, therefore, that Bradford, to his other accomplishments, added that of an importing merchant ; and that in the special department of elegant English works he was only about one hundred and seventy-five years ahead of your great modern bibliopoles the Messrs. Appleton.] “ And so I desire Thomas Lloyd and the rest of the Magistrates above named to give him what encouragement and assistance you can.

“ So with my love to you all in the Holy Seed, Christ Jesus, who reigns over all, in whom you have all Life and Peace with God, *Amen*.

“ GEORGE FOX.”

Strange ! is it not, that this letter written near two hundred years ago, by George Fox the founder of the Quakers, to introduce “ a sober young man, William Bradford,” “ a civil young man convinced of Truth,” to all the drab-coated divines of America,—the straightest of this eccentric sect—should now introduce him as fully—the best introduction he has—to this distinguished audience, composed of the fashion, the beauty, the rank and scholarship of this great metropolis ; the splendid city of New York ! a place which at London in 6th Month, 1685, was not important enough to be named among the places of America—though *Pisbaban* was—but which is now the chief city of a hemisphere ; destined, under a reëstablished Union, to rank with the first city of the world.

With his domestick relations permanently and happily established by the presence of his wife, and with youth and health to give ardour to hope, Bradford

engaged in the labours of his Press;\* though it seems to have been less devoted to the "printing of Friends books," than in the vision of George Fox was predestined. Fox's letter shows that as early as 1685, our enterprising youth contemplated a field of operations, coëxtensive with our Middle Colonies; and even going beyond them both North and South. He early accomplished this plan; and between 1686 and 1692 he was printing for Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Rhode Island, as in 1702 he was for Maryland also. "An Union of States" was plainly in his mind from the time he first began his operations.†

The earliest issue of Bradford's press, known to me, is an Almanack for the year 1686, produced of course in 1685. One copy alone seems to have survived to this day, and that one has wandered far from the place of its origin. New England boasts its possession.‡ It was called "*Kalendarium Pennsylvaniense or America's Messenger, an Almanack.*" A certain Samuel Atkins edited it. Among the remarkable events which were set down opposite to particular days, there was set down opposite to that one on which Mr. Penn assumed the control of things in Pennsylvania, the following entry: "The beginning of Government here by the Lord Penn." This title of courtesy given to their Governour was offensive to the Provincial Magistracy.

\* See Appendix, Note 3.

† See Appendix, Note 4.

‡ Formerly in the possession of Judge Sewell; afterwards, and in 1853, in that of Mr. Frederick Kidder. (*New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, VIII, 20.)

Atkyns was summoned before the Council and ordered to blot out the words "LORD PENN," and Bradford was warned "not to print any thing but what shall have lycence from y<sup>e</sup> council."\*

In 1686 he produced "*Burnyeat's Epistle.*" Burnyeat was a great man, if not in the wider sphere of his day and generation, at least in the 'little senate' of his own sect. He even now—though never heard of, I presume, in this accomplished audience—holds a high place in the Hagiology of Friends. We are told that '*he received the truth*' in 1663 in Cumberland; and died in Ireland in 1690, "after he had stood great 'troubles, storms and trials there;'—'troubles, storms and trials' great enough no doubt; but not greater, I should say, than as a 'Friend in the Ministry,' he ought reasonably to have expected when he set off on the business of missions and to upset the truth of Rome among the emotional sons of the Vatican in so faithful a land as Ireland. George Fox has embalmed his memory for a certain class in an obituary notice yet preserved. "He travelled and preached the Gospel," says Fox, "in Ireland, Scotland, Barbadoes, Virginia, "Maryland, New Jersey," [nothing is said about *Pisbah*,] "and up and down New England, and had "many disputes with *Priests and Professors that opposed "the truth*;" an expression by which I presume George includes alike the Clergy of the Church of England and the Ministers of the Puritan Body. "But the "Lord gave him dominion over all," says Fox; "and "to stop the mouths of gainsayers," ['the Priests and Professors,' aforesaid, meaning]; "and he turned

\* Minutes of Provincial Council, i, 115.

“many to the Lord and was a Peace-Maker. He travelled with me,” continues George, “from Maryland, through the wilderuess, and *through many rivers and desperate bogs*, where they said never Englishman nor horse had travelled before; *where we laid out at nights*, and sometimes in Indian Houses; and many times were very hard put to it for provisions;” a fore privation, no doubt, for George and Burnyeat; as it might well enough have been for men ‘convinced of truth’ in worse or better forms. “But the Lord by his Eternal Arm did support us; and carry us through all dangers! Blessed be his name for ever—more!”

After such a companionship and such an experience Burnyeat felt inspired to write ‘Epistles’—to all Friends scattered throughout America—twenty-three Epistles in all—far ahead of St. Paul—and this was one of them. The title is, “*An Epistle from John Burnyeat to Friends in Pennsylvania, to be by them dispersed to the Neighbouring Provinces, which for Convenience and Despatch was thought good to be Printed, and so ordered by the Quarterly Meeting of Philadelphia the 7th of 4th Month 1686.*” The imprint, which is at the end, is, “Printed and sold by William Bradford, near Philadelphia, 1686.” The Epistle is but a little affair in point of size—four pages of small 4to.\* The Society of Friends, from whom Bradford received a good share of that small patronage which in those days he got from any source, took one hundred copies, giving him fifteen shillings for the same.

\* A copy is in the Friends’ Library at Philadelphia.



Of An Almanack which was issued in 1687, more than one copy is extant. It begins with the 11th month—*January*. Daniel Leeds, 'Student in Agriculture,' seems to have been the person by whom the Astronomical Calculations were made. These are given specially for Burlington, and only generally for Philadelphia; Burlington having been in 1686, I presume, the more important city of the two. The type is cleanly cut and in good condition. The font included all the astronomical signs. The frequent alternations from upper and lower case, Roman and Italick,\* in the same line, have an effect not now regarded as pleasing; but such was then the mode; and in the periodicity of fashion it has lately been revived along with other archaisms of printing, much to the satisfaction of Typographical Antiquaries, in some of those beautiful books issued by Mr. Munsell, of Albany, in your own State; a gentleman to whom I cannot refer without admiration of the taste and zeal which he displays in those reproductions of our early press, which take from England part of the typographical glories which she once claimed as the exclusive honour of William Pickering.† The press work of the Almanack is well done. There is, however, some want of good

\* The impression, on looking at the Italicks and Roman mixed up as they are in some of Bradford's earlier issues, undoubtedly is that the fonts were short, and that he had 'eked' out one 'font' by another. They may have been so in 1687. The *Temple of Wisdom*, however, and other books printed in 1688, shew that his cases were then sufficiently filled and there is no 'eking' visible, so far as I remember, in Burnyeat's *Epistle*, printed in 1686.

† See Appendix, Note 5.

justification. Letters and lines are out of place, as if the font had been short of *quads*, and there are other irregularities occasioned obviously by a necessity<sup>3</sup> of piecing the rules which run across the page. All these defects, however, are frequently seen even now in large sheets of what is known as 'rule and figure work ;' and in those days when rule was dear and the bodies of the same fonts were cast with much less regularity than now, were inevitable in a single-page-kalendar of this size. As yet, Binny, and Ronaldson, and Bruce and McKellar,—these last two, in honoured presence, I am proud to say this night beside me—George Bruce, *your* upright fellow-citizen, long retired from active labour, now in venerable age, but with mental vigor unimpaired,—and Thomas McKellar, *my* respected townsman, in the full activity of useful middle life—both—may I not ask the indulgence to add?—representatives with Archibald Binny and James Ronaldson of honest old Scotland—these, the *artists* of the printer's calling—had not as yet arisen to make the Letter-Founders of America admired among their brethren of every land, and most of all in the very land of skill, beautiful France herself.\*

In its literary execution this early issue of Bradfords' press, was suited to a primitive settlement. Maxims of moral and religious duty are united with short "Rules of Husbandry," and "The times of Courts "and Fairs in Philadelphia and Burlington." The times which the Almanack gives of Courts and Fairs in Philadelphia and Burlington, have long ceased to

\* See Appendix, Note 6.

interest any one. The maxims of moral and religious duty are as fresh at this hour as they were two hundred years ago; and some of them in Monarchies and Democrattick Republicks alike acquire a greater value every day. Thus they proceed:

“No man is born unto himself alone;

“Who lives unto himself, he lives to *none*.

“The blaze of honour, Fortune’s sweet excess

“Do undervalue the name of Happiness.

“Place *shows* the man, and he whom honour mends,

“He to a worthy generous spirit tends.”

Considering that the only English population in or about Philadelphia in 1687, was that excellent one of Friends, it may be noted as a curious circumstance connected with this Almanack, and one which—in connexion with Bradford’s proposition in the following year, to print the Bible *accompanied by the Book of Common Prayer*—tends to raise a question whether either the Divinity of his great Spiritual Patron, George Fox, or respect for that ‘lycence from y<sup>e</sup> council,’ without which he had been ordered “not to print “any thing,” had taken very deep root in our young friend’s mind—that the Kalendar in question, exhibits as “Remarkable Days” not the days of ‘Monthly,’ ‘Quarterly,’ or ‘Yearly Meeting,’ nor even that on which George Fox himself gladdened this vain world by his birth, but the varied fasts and festivals of the Church Catholick; then observed nowhere over the broad expanse of these colonies; though now celebrated by surpliced ministers, “with pealing organ and by pausing choir,” in your own Trinity, Broadway, as in

the time-honoured Cathedrals and Colleges of our mother-land, or in San Pietro Vaticano in Eternal Rome herself. All these, beginning with the Circumcision, and ending with the Slaughter of the Innocents, and including the Conversion of St. Paul; the Annunciation and Purification of the Virgin; the Ascension and Pentecost; The Decollation of the Baptist; the Feast of Michael the Arch-Angel, and of every Apostle in his turn, are set forth with prominence; and except a mention of the Vernal Equinox, and of certain days which mark the progress of the seasons, no other day in the annual round, is noted in this Almanack, as remarkable at all.

How much edification indeed, this Kalendar of the Ecclesiastical Year, afforded to the respectable society of Friends—then, as I have said, the only religious body of Mr. Penn's new country, and who, I should suppose, would have seen in it nothing but 'Man's Feasts in God's Church'—there is no record, that I know of, to inform us. Mr. Penn had, himself, in fact, been so often and so gravely charged, with being not only a Papist, but a Priest, and that of the order of Jesuits, that it is possible enough his colonists—Friends though they were—had become somewhat insusceptible to alarm on the subject of High Church observances.

Bradford produced an Almanack, also, for 1688; the memorable year of the English Revolution. But the editor of it, Daniel Leeds, our aforesaid "Student in Agriculture," had not acquired among his studies of the field, as much deference for the religion of the State as was politick and becoming. Forgetting Lord Bacon's counsel that there "be certain things which are



“privileged from jest,” as “Religion,” he put upon his almanack something which referred in a light way to the ceremonies of “Friends’ Meeting;” some “unfavoury matter,” as in the vernacular of their day and discipline it is called. Their susceptibilities were touched; and the issue, through their influence, called in. The Society of Friends, by a resolution of their body, compensated Bradford for the loss he had sustained. Not a copy of this Almanack, that I know of, has descended to this day: nor one of ‘Edward Eakin’s writing,’ which appears to have issued in the same year under the authority of Friends’ Meeting in the place of that of Leeds, which this body had suppressed.

The same revolutionary year of 1688 is memorable in Philadelphia for a dispute as to the place of holding the Fair; a great matter in those days, when Fairs were held in our city as in old times and towns of England. The Governour and Council had fixed the place of holding it at the ‘Center;’ our Centre Square, of course. This plainly was thought by some of the ladies too far removed from the fashionable quarters of Water street, for them to visit it. Their husbands and admirers—for even under the *regime* of William Penn, ladies, I suppose, had admirers—the Quaker Faith itself allowing ‘Yea,’ ‘Yea,’ for the benefit of gentlemen, on some occasions, as well as enjoining ‘Nay,’ ‘Nay,’ for the protection of ladies, on others—their husbands and admirers, I say, drew up and signed a remonstrance; and we chronicle among the issues of Bradford’s prefs for 1688, “*A paper touching ye keeping*

“*of the Fair at the Centre.*” The Provincial Minutes\* tell the rest of the story ; not one creditable to the chivalry of the times. Thus they read :

“ Councill Roome in Philadelphia y<sup>e</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> month 1688.

“ A Summons was sent Directed to Thomas Clyford Messenger for the  
“ Summonsing y<sup>e</sup> Subscribers of a *Contemptuous Printing paper* touching  
“ y<sup>e</sup> Keeping of y<sup>e</sup> fair at y<sup>e</sup> Center ; *where it was Ordered by y<sup>e</sup> Govr*  
“ *and Council to be kept.*

“ Councill Roome in Philadelphia y<sup>e</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> month 1688.

“ The Returne of y<sup>e</sup> Warr<sup>t</sup> granted yesterday for y<sup>e</sup> Summonsing y<sup>e</sup>  
“ Subscribers of y<sup>e</sup> *Contemptuous printed advertisem<sup>t</sup>* against keeping y<sup>e</sup>  
“ fayre at y<sup>e</sup> Centre was made by the Messenger ; and he attested that  
“ they were all and Each of them Summonfed, Several of y<sup>e</sup> Subscribers  
“ Excusing themselves.

“ The Dep<sup>ty</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> and Councill *after Reproveing them*, did pardon all  
“ *those who subscribed to what was indorsed on the back of one of the printer*  
“ *papers.*”

Any ‘printer paper’ which remonstrated against the wife doings of the Governour and Council, was in those days contemptuous ; and was invariably followed by a ‘Summonsing’ before their Body.

The earliest volume which we have from the press of Bradford, is the *Temple of Wisdom* ; a work which includes “ *Essays and Religious Meditations of Francis Bacon.*” I know of but one copy extant, and that one I exhibit to you. [The speaker here exhibited a Duodecimo exquisitely bound in blue Turkey morocco with gilt edges.] It belongs to Mr. William Menzies of your own city, in whose beautiful library, bound with an elegance worthy of their rarity, is contained the finest collection of Bradfords any where existing.

\* Vol. 1, pp. 179-80.

The figure of this enterprising youth as he laboured at his press in these early days, deserves, I think, to make a feature on the canvass which shall perpetuate the history of American civilization. In all other countries the typographick art has been cultivated beside the supporting walls of palaces; within the protecting close of religious houses, or under the fructifying air of patronage and wealth. Princes have been its nursing fathers, and queens its nursing mothers; and nobles and bishops and scholars have watched its early progress. Westminster—the venerated abbey in which for ages, England has crowned her sovereigns—and which she consecrates as the abode of her most honoured dead, counts even as one of her distinctions, that Caxton reared his press within her precincts.\* France, celebrating the munificence of the 11th Louis, displays in all the richness of her art, and in the costliest products of her Sevres skill and taste, upon the windows of her Louvre, the monarch who sat beside her press and fostered with his care its flickering light.†

Where rank and wealth and learning have not been its cheerful supporters, the press has languished, or has had to wait for happier times. Even in Massachusetts no book nor paper was issued for eighteen years after the settlement of that Province. Virginia and Maryland forbade the art entirely. William Bradford, establishing his press in these Middle States, presents an exception to all ordinary history. He has crossed

\* See Appendix, Note 7.

† This splendid glass used to be in one of the large windows of the Louvre. I saw it there in 1850, and perhaps in 1857; but missed it in 1860. I know not now where it is placed.

an ocean and is a thousand leagues away from the genial influences of education and taste. He has no 'assistance of the learned' nor any 'patronage of the great.' No 'academick bowers' lead the way to his humble roof, nor bring scholars to watch his daily progress. No strains pealing through long-drawn aisles and swelling the note of praise, refreshed his spirits as they often must have Caxton's as he grew weary with his lengthened toil. The arches above *him* are of the interlacing forests; and amidst the primæval oaks, the curious and wondering Indian watches him in the solitary practice of his "mystery." He is printing the wisdom of Francis Bacon—his *ESSAYS*—'Of Studies'—'Of Counsel'—'Of Goodnesse and Goodnesse of Nature'—'Of Judicature'—'Of Honour and Reputation'—'Of Ceremonies and Respects'; His *SACRED MEDITATIONS*—'Of the Moderation of Cares'—'Of Earthly Hopes'—'Of the Church and the Scriptures,' for the rough trader whose soul is absorbed in schemes of gain, or for the poorer colonist anxious only to build himself a shelter from the storm, or to provide for the day that is passing over his head. His patrons are the ignorant Finlander and Swede and Hollander, whom Penn is bringing to his colony. To use his own simple but expressive words,\* he has 'laid out 'the greatest part of that small stock he had on materials for printing (which are very chargeable) and coming here found little encouragement; which made him 'think of going back.' Unaided he rears his humble press. With his own hand he sets the type. He im-

\* See *infra*, p. 38.



poses himself the form; corrects by his own care the pages; locks them in the chase; adjusts the register; and then applying the full vigour of his arm and turning back the crank, lifts up the printed sheet. Behold! [Exhibiting to the whole audience the open volume of Lord Bacon's Essays] The Genius of Lord Verulam, shines upon a new world! At such a moment how joyous must have been the emotions of such a man! Measuring them by the means of their accomplishment, in what other land can the Art conservative of all the Arts, boast so noble a result?\*

This issue of Bradford's press appeared in 1688; seventeen years before Benjamin Franklin was born; thirty-nine years before HE established any where the Printing Press. The name of Franklin is widely revered. But the Printer's calling received no addition to its dignity when the candle-end-saving genius of Poor Richard usurped the honours which in an earlier day, had been paid to the author of the Instauration.

The sheets of this work were still going through the press when Bradford engaged himself on a project of vastly higher aim and magnitude; far in advance of his time, and which ought to commend his memory to enduring honour. This was in 1688, and was a no less enterprize than that of printing in folio, with marginal notes, and as would appear, with the book of Common Prayer included, the entire volume of the Holy Scriptures. His letter to the then only religious body in Philadelphia, making known his design, has recently with his printed Proposals been reproduced in fac simile. I show them to you here [Fac

\*See Appendix, Note 8.

Similes shown]. ~~THE~~ Bradford was at this time 24 years old. Thus they read :

“ To the HALF YEAR’S MEETING of Friends held at Burlington,  
“ the 3d of the 1st month 168 $\frac{1}{2}$  :

“ DEAR FRIENDS :

“ I have thought meet to lay before you of this meeting something of  
“ my intentions ; desiring your concurrence and assistance therein so far as  
“ you think it of service. I have proposed to some Friends and laid it  
“ before our meeting at Philadelphia, concerning the printing of a large  
“ Bible in folio ; by way of subscriptions, because it will be a very great  
“ charge inasmuch that I cannot accomplish to do it myself without assist-  
“ ance.

“ Therefore I propose that they who will forward so good a work as  
“ this is conceived to be, by subscribing and paying down (in one or two  
“ months time) the sum of twenty shillings, shall have one Bible printed  
“ and bound as mentioned in the paper of proposals annexed : so soon as  
“ they are so printed and bound, which I hope will be in little more than  
“ one year and a half after subscriptions paid.

“ Friends here at Philadelphia and hereaway are willing to forward and  
“ encourage the said work. Our Monthly Meeting very well approved of  
“ the said work and proposals, and ordered to recommend it to the Quar-  
“ terly Meeting ; and these intend to order two or three Friends to look  
“ after the subscription money to see that it be employed to the use intend-  
“ ed for ; and that the work of printing the said Bible be carried on with  
“ what expedition may be.

“ If you the Friends of the Half Year’s Meeting and our Quarterly  
“ Meeting here at Philadelphia do concur, and approve of the said pro-  
“ posals, and are willing to encourage the same, which I doubt not, then I  
“ propose to you whether or no you think it convenient to invite or order  
“ some Friend or Friends to write in behalf of the said Meeting or  
“ Meetings to the several respective Monthly and Quarterly Meetings in  
“ Pennsylvania and West Jersey acquainting them with what is proposed  
“ and your sense of the same ; which I suppose would be a great induce-  
“ ment to them to encourage it.

“ And whereas it has been spoken up and down concerning my going to  
“ England to live. To which I say that it *was* my intentions so to have  
“ done by reason that I laid out the greatest part of that small stock I had

“in materials for printing (which are very chargeable) and coming here  
“found little encouragement made me think of going back. But per-  
“ceiving that Friends and people were generally concerned thereat, has  
“caused me to decline my said intentions at present. And as I find en-  
“couragement in this particular above mentioned or any thing else so that  
“therein I may but be serviceable to truth and the friends thereof and  
“withal get a livelyhood for myself and family, shall be content and stay.

“This from him who desires to serve you in what he may. And so  
“remain your friend as in truth abiding.

“WILLIAM BRADFORD.

“Philadelphia the first of first month 168 $\frac{1}{2}$ .”

A noble enterprize with which to begin the first of  
first month in any year whatever !

The proposals are too long for me to read. He  
announces that the Bible shall be a large ‘House Bible,’  
or as we now call it, a ‘Family Bible;’ that it shall  
be printed *on* a fair character; a form of expression  
which reveals a printer’s pen and point of view; that  
it shall be on good paper and well bound; shall con-  
tain the Apocrypha, and all to have ‘useful marginal  
notes.’ I know not whether Bradford meant to write  
the notes as well as to print them. He was as com-  
petent perhaps as some of George Fox’s “Friends in  
“the Ministry,” already spoken of. But as I have not  
discovered any occasion wherein he endeavoured to  
exercise himself in matters too high for laymen to at-  
tempt, I presume he had no design of trying his gifts  
as a sacred exegetist.\* The simplicity of one item of

\* In promising that his edition of the Bible should have ‘*useful mar-  
ginal notes,*’ I suppose that Bradford meant only that it should have a  
*selection* from the marginal references usually given. To have given all  
would have immensely increased his labour, and perhaps have interfered  
with the rights of the King’s Patentees in England. Governour Black-

the Proposals—the 4th—as originally drawn, is curious; indicating alike Bradford's own zeal in disseminating the Scriptures, and shewing also the primitive state of commerce then existing among us. Thus it runs:

“The pay shall be half silver money, and half country produce at money price. But they who really have not money and yet are willing ‘to encourage the said work, goods at money price shall satisfy.’”

I know not if any of your great Bible publishers are present here this evening; your Harpers, your Appletons, &c. They are liberal men I know; ready to accommodate “The Trade” in every way. But what would they think of proposing to publish the Bible *now* on these terms? I don't speak of the “silver money” part of it. To that, possibly,—the silver money I mean,—if pressed upon them, they might have no objection. But the other part. “They who ‘really have not money, goods at money price—’” Some of Mr. Stewart's point laces—I suppose—or a few camel's hair shawls—some scarlet ones—a few white and a few black ones—three or four green ones—some long shawls and some square—but all with embroidery three feet deep; or a diamond necklace and ear-rings from Tiffany's or Ball and Black's—“will ‘satisfy.’” I suppose it would—their wives; and who, gentlemen, I want to know in any thing that men do in this world have half so good a right to be satisfied; who, over its wide surface, reward us half so well for every act of self-denial—they are not many, perhaps,

well tells him on another occasion (*See infra*) “Sir, we are within the ‘King's dominions, and the laws of England are in force *here* . . . and ‘they are against printing,’ &c.



with some of us,—which we ever practice in their behalf?

This great and good enterprize of Bradford's is interesting not only as an important feature of the history of printing in these Middle Colonies, but as giving to them the distinction only of late discovered to belong to us of having first proposed to print the Holy Scriptures in English on this continent. You are aware that until quite lately it was universally supposed that Cotton Mather, the great Independent minister of Boston, was the first person to propose this vast labour. He did it in 1695; eight years after Bradford. It is now certain, therefore, that we are entirely ahead of New England in these regions, and that to William Bradford, the first printer of Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey, the honour really belongs.

The fact is, ladies and gentlemen—it is a melancholy thing to say—but I must say the truth—I am here to-night, I suppose, for that exact purpose—the fact is, that we people of the Middle States are so excessively modest—like that good man, Iago, we so “lack iniquity to do ourselves service”—that it is not at all surprising that our sprightly sister states of New England really thought they were quite alone in this glory. The fault is ours, not theirs; and the *moral* is that we must not be so very modest for the time to come; at least not so in doing honour to our departed worthies.

For one hundred and fifty years the knowledge of Bradford's proposition was lost, not only to the world of Sacred Letters but to the very city where it was first

made known. The history of its revival in this day is curious. Not long ago a quiet investigator into the ancient literature of our colony, was pursuing his researches in a library known with us as The Friends Library, a sweet and tranquil spot in Philadelphia, over-looking the venerable grounds of 'Arch Street Meeting;' wherein repose in hallowed silence whole generations of those excellent men and women who adorned by their pure spirits and beneficent lives the primitive Society of Friends in Pennsylvania; men and women unhonoured, indeed, upon the rolls of earthly fame, but who, I doubt not, in that day which shall try men's work of what sort it is, will rejoice in the better glory of those whose abiding record is on high. Handling a venerable Quarto, our friend, with varied instincts, was struck by its peculiar binding, obviously early and indigenous. Looking at it he observed that the inner lining-paper, as binders call it, was white only on one side; printed letters shewing through the paper; he looked at it more closely, and with reflection. "Here," said he, "may be some record of our colonial history; some illustration even of our early printing." Wetting the leaf with care he withdrew it from the boards. Lo his reward!

"PROPOSALS FOR THE PRINTING OF A LARGE BIBLE

BY

WILLIAM BRADFORD."\*

The name of this modest individual is Nathan Kite, a member of that same ancient but now fast waning Society of Friends; long a respected bookseller of

\* See Appendix, Note 9, where the Proposals are given at large.

Philadelphia, to-day in creditable retirement from business; and who keeps ever fresh for its duties a life of unostentatious devotion to the best offices of man,—the comfort of the sick, the relief of the poor, encouragement and assistance to those who have lost their peace, their innocence and their earthly hopes—by the enjoyment of occasional pursuits into the field—remunerative only to devotion such as his—of the early literature of Friends. I hope I may be pardoned, for an expression of respect to worth so modest, so genuine as Mr. Kite's.\*

Bradford as you are most of you aware, was a vestryman of Trinity Church, and it must be an interesting fact to the Reverend dignitaries and various officers of that corporation who gratify us by their presence in assembled dignity this evening—as indeed it must be an interesting fact also to the whole religious Body of which that church is so worthy and so admired an exponent,—that in the first proposals ever made in America to print the Holy Bible, it was offered to accompany it with the Book of Common Prayer. From the very origin of either, therefore, in America, they went hand in hand; while with a toleration which gives a higher grace to Bradford's efforts, it was free to all of other Faiths to have the WORD OF GOD alone. The proposals are to print the Holy Bible; but those,

\* Everywhere almost in the preparation of the early part of this Address, I have been indebted to this aimable person. His information has been at once curious and accurate. Mr. Kite's written contributions to our subject—originally given, I think, in the 16th and 17th volumes of *The Friend*—were printed at Manchester, England, A. D. 1844, under the title of *Researches among the early Printers and Publishers of Friends' Books*.

it is said, "who are minded to have the Common Prayer shall have the whole bound up for 22 shillings;" 20 shillings being the price of the Bible without the Common Prayer.\*

The character of Bradford was marked by those adventurous dispositions which have distinguished English colonists whether on the Eastern or the Western continent. At a very early date after his first arrival in America—as early as 1690—he established as joint proprietors with some Hollanders named Rittenhouse, near Philadelphia, on a branch of the beautiful and romantick stream called the Wissahickon, the first paper-mill ever established in America. From this mill came excellent paper, as I can testify, to write or print on. What I read you is written upon it. I hold you up a sheet of it. [Exhibiting the MS. of the Address.] The paper-maker's work has lasted much longer I fear—one hundred and seventy years—than the Address that is written on it ever will! The water-mark, as I suppose, is a violet, indicative of the spontaneity, perhaps, which that pretty little flower grows on the banks of the Wissahickon. An acute and very learned acquaintance of mine, Mr. Horatio Gates Jones, who is seated near me on the platform, gives it, indeed, as his opinion that this trefoil flower is not a violet as I affirm it before you to be, but the common three-

\* The proposition of Bradford as given in his printed proposals to put the Apocrypha in his Bible and accompany the whole with the Book of Common Prayer, indicates, I think, relations with Virginia, the Carolinas, &c. In some of the Southern Colonies the Church of England was the established religion. In 1688 it had no existence at all in the North, so far as I know.



leafed clover. We have debated this question ardently and long. The matter is important. I see no way to decide the solemn point but to let Mr. Jones give his clover to the men; allowing me to offer my violets, as I humbly do, to you, ladies. Underneath the flower—be it violet, as I most powerfully and potently believe—or clover-leaf—as my friend, too honestly would set down—you observe the word ‘Pennsylvania;’ a land where, notwithstanding our contentions, all made to put before *you* the very truth, my opponent and I contrive to live in harmony, and where both trefoil clover and violets grow in rich and exquisite perfection.

Of such importance was this paper-mill deemed to the interests of the country around it, that having been washed away by a flood in 1700, Mr. Penn, who was on his last visit to Pennsylvania, addressed a letter to the inhabitants urging them to use efforts to have it reconstructed. This department of industry engaged much of Bradford’s time and efforts alike in Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey. How far in the present paper-mill he was in advance of the country, generally, may be inferred from this fact, that the first paper-mill in New England—a region which was half a century before Pennsylvania in English settlement—that to-wit, at Milton, Massachusetts—was not erected till A. D. 1730;\* about forty years after the one in Pennsylvania.†

\* Munfell, *Chronology of Paper and Paper-Making*, p. 24.

† The whole subject of this early paper-mill on the Wiffahickon has lately been made the theme of a valuable Essay by Horatio Gates Jones, Esquire, the gentleman to whom I refer above, and who upon the evening

It is not surprizing that Bradford himself and his enterprize and accomplishments should have attracted notice from the early travellers and historiographers of our Province. In *The Flourishing State of Pennsylvania*, written, I suppose, about A. D. 1693-4, by John Holme,\* we have the subject of our Address and his manufacture thus referred to :

“ Here dwelt a Printer, and, I find,  
 “ That he can both print books and bind ;  
 “ He wants not paper, ink, nor skill ;  
 “ *He's owner of a paper-mill :*  
 “ The paper-mill is here, hard by,  
 “ And makes good paper frequently.”

Bradford, as Mr. Jones has shown us, was not exclusive owner of this mill. He was, however, so much the striking personage among the partners, and so much the active and efficient manager before the publick that his name apparently quite over-topped all others.

But the circle of Bradford's enterprize and accom-

of this Address was seated on the stage as a representative from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, a body to which as its Corresponding Secretary in ordinary he renders well known and excellent service. His Essay was entitled *Historical Sketch of the Rittenhouse Paper-Mill; the First erected in America*. The motto is: “ Contrary to the King, “ his Crown and Dignity, thou hast built a paper-mill.” (*Shakspeare Henry VI.*) Along with Mr. Jones's other Essay *Ebenezer Kinnersley and his Connection with Early Discoveries in Electricity*, this Essay constitutes one of the most valuable modern historical manuscripts I know of. I here acknowledge my obligation to Mr. Jones for the excellent paper from the early mill he describes on which what I read was written ; as his own Essay also was entirely.

\* *Proc. Hist. Soc. Penn.*, Dec., 1847, No. 13, vol. i, pp. 160, 172.

plishments does not end here. The amateurs of Bibliopeggy—or “book-binding” as we used to call it before the world became so very learned—of whom in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania there are many, cherish him as the father of that art in the Middle Colonies. Undoubtedly he was so. Some specimens of his binding—and good ones for that early day they are—are still extant in our old libraries. To *him*, therefore, we trace in these regions that art which in the work-shop of your own Matthews and with us of Mr. Nicholson—himself the author of an attractive work on Bibliopeggy\*—has been elevated almost to the rank of a fine art; giving of late times to this our country that skill and taste which as displayed by Bauzonet in France, and by Payne, Lewis, McKenzie and Riviere in England, has so long delighted the Bibliophiles of every land.

I here exhibit to you a specimen of Bradford's skill in this department. [Showing a Folio; the New Jersey Laws of 1717.] The leather is what is known by amateurs as ‘bark-tanned sheep,’ and is good. The boards, indeed, are less hard than we now make them. But these also are fair as judged by the standards of that day. Paste-board was then often made from *pulp*, and not as now from *junk*; nor subjected to a pressure which ancient science had not attained to. Time, however, has affected the boards I show you; and the gluten is obviously loosened by

\* *A Manual of Book-Binding*, containing full Instruction in the Different Branches of Forwarding, Gilding and Finishing; also the Art of Marbling Book Edges and Paper, &c., by James B. Nicholson, Philadelphia, 1856.

this and moisture. The volume is strongly sewed—the ladies present must readily see that; and the book is set on bands that are raised. The tooling, gilt in parts, in others *blind*, would do no discredit to the modern artist; and the lettering, though rough, has been put on with steadiness and care. If every volume that has left the atelier of Bauzonet shall look as well when one hundred and forty-six years have gone over it, and four or five generations of lawyers have been pulling it apart, that elegant minister to the external charm of letters will have no cause to complain of the vicissitudes of earthly things. Bradford, I suppose, took up the art of binding books as a necessary appendage, in a new country, to the business of a publisher. If this were so, he arrived at a high degree, indeed, of skill.

Other projects, also, far enough removed one would say, from any department of letters engaged our subject's active mind. In October, 1689, as deeds enrolled in our Capitol\* still show, Bradford took up land upon the Delaware "in order to erect a wharf or key  
"and to build houses thereon for the better improvement of the place as well as for his own particular  
"profit." And he received authority from the State  
"to contract and agree with and to recover reasonable  
"satisfaction from all persons making use of the same  
"by shipping or landing goods or merchandise and by  
"ships, boats, or merchandise coming to the same."

But the highest title which Bradford has to our respect, after that of endeavouring to print the Holy

\* Patent Book A, vol. iv, p. 177.



Scriptures with the Prayer Book, remains behind. He was the first man to establish the press in these Middle Colonies. He was the first man, any where, so far as I know, to maintain its freedom against arbitrary power.

In 1689, some question having arisen between the Governour and the people as to the extent of their respective rights, Mr. Joseph Growden, one of the most intelligent men of our Province, caused Bradford to print the Charter. Party spirit ran high. Bradford seems to have anticipated trouble. He did not put his name as printer on the title; no 'imprint,' as we call it. As soon as the book appeared, he was summoned before the Governour and Council of our Province, and examined *vivâ voce* with a view of fixing on him, *by his own admissions*, the fact that he had printed the work.\* With what success these dignitaries of the State now tried to fix it on him by that course, the examination itself will shew. Thus it runs:

"Governour.—Why, sir, I would know by what power or authority you thus print? Here is the Charter printed!"

"Bradford.—It was by Governour Penn's encouragement I came to this Province, and by his license I print."

"Governour.—What, sir, had you license to print the Charter? I desire to know from you, whether you did print the Charter or not, and who set you to work?"

"Bradford.—Governour, it is an impracticable thing for any man to accuse himself; thou knows it very well."

"Governour.—Well, I shall not much press you to it, but if you were so ingenuous as to confess, it should go the better with you."

"Bradford.—Governour, I desire to know my accusers; I think it very hard to be put upon accusing myself."

"Governour.—Can you deny that you printed it? I do know you did

\* This examination was had "the 9th of the second month, 1689;" the Governour of Pennsylvania being at that time Captain John Blackwell.

“print it, and by whose directions, and will prove it, and make you smart for it, too, since you are so stubborn.”

“*John Hill*.—I am informed that one hundred and sixty were printed yesterday, and that Jos. Growden saith he gave 20s for his part towards the printing it.”

“*Bradford*.—It’s nothing to me, what ‘Jos. Growden saith.’ Let me know my accusers, and I shall know the better how to make my defence; I do not desire to do anything that might give offence to any; I have been here near four years,\* and never had so much <sup>rd</sup> to me before by Governour, or any else. Printing the laws, was one of the chief things Governour Penn propos’d to me before I came here, yet I have forborne the same, because I have not had particular order; but if I had printed them, I do not know that I had done amiss.”

“*Governour*.—Truly, I question whether there hath been a Governour here before, or not, or them which understood what Government was; which makes things as they now are.”

“*Bradford*.—That’s strange! I do think and believe that there hath been a Governour here.† However, since thee came here, Governour, I never heard of anything to the contrary, but that I might print such things as came to my hand, whereby to get my living; it is that by which I subsist; nor do I know of any ‘*Imprimatur*’ appointed. When things are settled and ordered, I hope I shall comply, so far as to endeavour to avoid giving offence to any.”

“*Governour*.—Sir, I am ‘*Imprimatur*,’ and that you shall know. I will bind you in a bond of £500 that you shall print nothing but what I do allow of; or I shall lay you fast.”

“*Bradford*.—Governour, I have not hitherto known thy pleasure herein, and therefore hope thou wilt judge the more favourably, if I have done anything that does not look well to some.”

“*Governour*.—If you would confess you might expect favour, but I see you are willfull; you should have come and askt my advice, and not have done any thing that particular parties bring to you. Sir, I have particular order from Governour Penn for the suppressing of printing here, and narrowly to look after your press, and I will search your house, look after your press, and make you give in £500 security to print nothing but what I allow, or I’ll lay you fast.”

\* See Appendix, Note 10.

† Referring obviously to Mr. Penn, of whom Governour Blackwell was the deputy.

“*John Hill.*—The Charter is the groundwork of all our laws, and for you to print it at this time without order from Governour, is a great misdemeanour.”

“*Griffith Jones.*—William, I doubt thou hearest and takes advice of those who advise thee to that which will not be for thy good at last.”

“*Bradford.*—Governour, it is my imploy, my trade and calling, and that by w<sup>ch</sup> I get my living, to print; and if I may not print such things as come to my hand, which are innocent, I cannot live; I am not a person that takes such advice of one party or other, as Griffith Jones seems to suggest. If I print one thing to-day, and the contrary party bring me another to-morrow, to contradict it, I cannot say that I shall not print it. Printing is a manufacture of the nation, and therefore ought rather to be encouraged than suppressed.”

“*Governour.*—I know printing is a great benefit to a country if it be rightly managed, but otherwise as great a mischief. Sir, we are within the king’s dominions, and the laws of England are in force here, and you know the laws, and they are against printing, and you shall print nothing without allowance; I’ll make Mr. Growden bring forth the printer of this Charter.”

“*Bradford.*—Since it hath been here said that the Charter is the ground or foundation of all our laws and privileges, both of Governour and people, I would willingly ask one question, if I may, without offence, and that is, whether the people ought not to know their privileges and the laws they are under?”

“*Griffith Jones.*—There is a p’ticular office (MS. worn out), thou knows where y<sup>e</sup> Charter is kept, and those that want to know any thing, may have recourse thither; it was a very ill thing for thee, at this juncture, to offer to print the Charter.”

“*Governour.*—It is a thing that ought not to be made publick to all the world; and therefore is intrusted in a particular person’s hand whom the people confide in.”

“*Griffith Jones.*—William thou knows thy father suffered much in England for printing (though I do not say for doing any thing against the law or meddling with Government), and I would not have thee bring trouble on thyself.”

“*Bradford.*—If it were not for the people to see and know their privileges, why was the Charter printed in England?”

“*Governour.*—It was not printed in England.”

"*Bradford*.—Governour, under favour, it was printed in England."

"*Governour*.—It was not. What, this Charter?"

"*Bradford*.—Yes, this Charter, but that some alterations have been made since."

"*Griffith Jones*.—By what order did you print it in England?"

"*Bradford*.—By Governour Penn's."

"*Governour*.—That was something; but you was not to print it of your own accord?"

"*Bradford*.—Have I?"

"*Governour*.—That I shall prove and make you know, sir."

"*Griffith Jones*.—There is as much need of the alteration of the Charter now as ever; and *may* be, if six parts of seven of the people be agreed; which is not impossible."

"*Governour*.—There is that in this Charter which overthrows all your laws and privileges. Governour Penn hath granted more power and privileges than he hath himself."

"*Bradford*.—That is not my business to judge of or determine; but if any thing be laid to my charge, let me know my accusers. I am not bound to accuse myself."

I here exhibit to you [showing an ancient MS. and volume] the account in Bradford's own writing of the examination I have just read; and also a copy of the book, the property of Mr. Kite already spoken of, for printing which he was summoned before the Governour and Council. The MS. was found not long since among some ancient papers at Chester, in Pennsylvania. I will have the honour, if you will allow me, Mr. President, to offer it as my gift on this the two hundredth anniversary of Bradford's birth, to the New York Historical Society, which this day and evening does honour to his memory.\*

After such a scene, as that above described, with the

\* This venerable document—graciously accepted by the corporation, with thanks, and framed so as to exhibit both sides—now hangs in the Hall of the Historical Society, New York.



supreme powers of the State, and after learning from them that Governour Penn had given "particular order for the suppressing of printing" in his Province, Bradford sensibly concluded that for whomever else Pennsylvania might have attractions, or whatever in the future it might offer to any one—and I beg to say, Ladies and Gentlemen, that it does, at this time, offer the greatest possible attractions to every one, to ladies, especially, in a charming Opera House and other like things, which William Penn did not instruct us in—it was not, just then, the place for *him*. The Press, by some accident, in getting between the banks of the Delaware and Schuylkill, had got, for the moment, out of its latitude. We are not surprised accordingly to find among the records of Friends' Meeting at this time an application by Bradford for his '*Bene Decessit*,' as follows:

"Monthly Meeting, 5 mo. 26, 1689.

"William Bradford laid before this meeting his intention of transporting  
"himself to England. According to his request, Friends order John Eakly  
"and Anthony Morris to draw up a certificate for him of his good be-  
"haviour."

The Society of Friends, expecting, I suppose, in a good degree to control it, had always desired to have the Printing Press in Pennsylvania. This announcement by their fellow-citizen of his purpose to abandon the State entirely, caused a sensation in this respectable but usually unimpassioned body; and a strong effort to retain him. "The subsequent Yearly Meeting," as Mr. Kite informs me, "agreed to grant him, besides all the business which they could throw in his way, a yearly salary of £40; and the Yearly Meet-

“ ing convened on the 9th of 7th month, 1691, agreed  
 “ that of all books printed with the advice of Friends,  
 “ the Quarterly Meeting should take at least two  
 “ hundred copies.”

But the prefs was not destined to have a peaceful career in my now liberal and peaceful State. In 1692 a schism of the most serious character rent in twain the Unity of Friends. “ Meeting ” was divided into the Foxian Friends and the Keithian Friends, and they were friends in no way whatsoever but their names. “ *Nos Enemis, les Amis,* ” would have been as applicable in that day as the French thought “ *Nos Amis, les Enemis,* ” was in a later.\* I shall not attempt to explain to-night before the ladies of New York—arrayed so enchantingly around this theatrick circle, in the *chapeaux ravissants* and *robes si exquises* of the fashions of spring—the ancient profundities of the Faith of Friends; which in this case, involved the profundities of their folly also. The *Genius Loci* does not invite the topick; and it would hold incongruous fellowship, I am thinking, with the variegated hues of diamonds that during this address have been flashing themselves towards my eyes. The matter seems finally to have resolved itself a good deal into a quarrel between Friends in power and Friends out of power; a kind of quarrel which, in these days, when politicians are so constantly before us, we understand but

\* It is said to be matter of statistical fact—I don’t vouch for it—that after the allied armies entered Paris in 1815 their *consummation* of wine, brandy, &c., was so vast that the money they spent for it more than paid the levies made upon the city by the capturing forces. But a Frenchman is always philosophick!

too abundantly well. Bradford printed a tract for the party combatant *out* of power. For this he was arrested, and the sheriff being sent to search his office, took possession of his tools, type, and also of the *form* from which the obnoxious pamphlet had been printed. The trial was had in state before two Quaker judges, Jennings and Cook, assisted by others. A curious contemporary account of it still remains to us. The prisoner conducted his case in person, and managed it, says Mr. David Paul Brown, from whose *Forum*\* I extract the account, "with a fearlessness, force, acute-  
"ness and skill which speak very highly for his intelli-  
"gence and accurate conception of legal principles." When the jury were called, he challenges two of them because they had formed and expressed opinions, not as to the fact of his having published the paper, but as to its being of a *sedition character*; opinions which he himself had heard them express. The Prosecuting Attorney says to Bradford, after he had made his exception :

"Hast thou at any time heard them say that thou printed the paper? for that is *only* what they are to find."

"*Bradford*.—That is not only what they are to find. They are to find also whether this be a seditious paper or not, and whether it does tend to the weakening of the hands of the magistrates."

"*Attorney*.—No, that is *matter of law*, which the jury is not to meddle with, but find whether William Bradford hath printed it or not."

"*Justice Jennings*.—You are only to try whether William Bradford printed it or not."

"*Bradford*.—This is wrong."

We have, therefore, in this trial—continues Mr.

\* Vol. i, p. 280.

Brown\*—evidence of the fact, interesting to the whole Bar and Press of America, and especially interesting to the Bar and the Press of the Middle Colonies, that, on the soil of Pennsylvania, the father of our press asserted, in 1692, with a precision not since surpassed, a principle in the law of libel hardly then conceived any where, but which now protects every publication in much of our Union; a principle which English judges, after the struggles of the great whig Chief Justice and Chancellor, Lord Camden, through his whole career, and of the brilliant declaimer, Mr. Erskine, were unable to reach; and which, at a later day, became finally established in England only by the enactment of Mr. Fox's Libel Bill in Parliament itself.†

A record of this trial is still existing.‡ It is a curious document but much too long for me to read. An amusing incident in the jury-room will be appreciated by this audience, where I see some ladies who share with our less worthy sex the business of authorship, and others whose graceful forms mingle in the panorama of the printing-house. The Prosecution wished to prove that Bradford had printed the pamphlet; a fact of which there was no legal evidence. He had

\* The Forum, i, 281.

† At the close of the present address the Honourable Gulian C. Verplanck, whose presence, seldom now drawn from his dignified and well employed retirement, was one of the gratifying incidents of the occasion, made some interesting remarks upon the influence which Bradford's early defence of the Press had had on subsequent times, both here and in England, and tracing Mr. Fox's Libel Bill specifically to Bradford's position and efforts. (*See Supra, Introductory Note, p. 12.*)

‡ Mr. Menzies owns a copy of the original work. An abstract of it is given by Thomas; History of Printing; ii, pp. 12-24.



taken care that no one should see him print it. Mr. Attorney now brought in the *form*, already seized by him, on which the pamphlet had itself been printed. The discovery was received with exultation by the prosecuting party. Bradford contended rightly that the *form* was no proof against him until they had shewn that he had printed from it. Still it was put as proof before the Jury. Unable, however, to read the matter from the types, without looking at them closely, the foreman began to pass the chase along the panel. Of a sudden the *quoins* got loose and the mass of type fell through, a pile of indecipherable *pi*! The evidence has disappeared by magick! Bradford now published an account of his Trial which he circulated extensively. He already, says Mr. Brown, had the jest on his side, which in common apprehension, was a victory; and it was not long before he got the 'judgment' with him also. He appealed at once from the justices under whose order his press had been seized—an inferior county tribunal—to the Governour in Council. The case came on to be heard April 27th, 1693, before the Governour, your own Col. Fletcher, who was at the time Governour, in fact, of our Province also, the Lieutenant Governour (Markham) and the Council-Board. The Minutes record his triumph.\* Thus they run :

“Friday, the 28th April, 1693.

“Upon reading the petition of William Bradford, Printer, directed to  
 “His Excellency, wherein he set forth that, in September last, his tools  
 “and letters were seized by order of the late rulers, for printing some books  
 “of controverſie, and are ſtill kept from him, to the great hurt of his family,  
 “and prays reliefe—His Excellency did aſk the advice of this Board.

\* Minutes of the Provincial Council, vol. i, p. 326.

"The several members of Council being well acquainted with the truth of the petitioner's allegations, are of opinion and do advise His Excellency to cause the petitioner's tools and letters to be restored to him :

"ORDERED that John White, Sheriff of Philadelphia, do restore to William Bradford, Printer, his tools and letters, taken from him in September last."

Bradford's old foes upon the bench, 'Sam'l Jennings' and 'Arthur Cooke,' not long after this resigned their places.\* Like Robin hostler, after "the rise of oats," it seemed as if they "never joyed since;" "it was the death of them."

Notwithstanding, however, that Bradford's triumph was here complete, he probably saw, as I have said, that Pennsylvania, though so profitable, in future generations of his family, did not, to himself, at that time, present the fairest field for the exercise of his Art.† He had been summoned, we have seen, before

\* On Col. Fletcher's accession to power, the old commissions, it would seem, were considered as vacated. The Proceedings of the Provincial Council contain the following entry as of 5th May, 1693 :

Sam'l Jennings, a former Justice of the Peace, being sent for, His Excell. did offer to continue him in the same station; which he did refuse. Arthur Cooke, in like manner, did refuse. (*Minutes of the Provincial Council*, i, 331.)

The Reverend Judges had taken things in high offence.

† Indeed it seems uncertain whether Bradford could at any time have considered himself as fixed with the utmost permanence in Philadelphia. In this letter of 1st of 1st month, 1687-8, to the Half Year's Meeting of Friends at Burlington, about the Bible, he says, (having been, then, fixed at Philadelphia only about two and a half years), that it had been "spoken up and down concerning his going to England to live;" and that it *had been* his intention so to have done. But perceiving that Friends and people generally were concerned thereat had caused him "to decline "his said intentions *at present*." Eighteen months afterwards ("5th month 26 1689,") as we have seen he actually laid before this meeting "his intention of transporting himself to England," and a committee was appointed to give him a Certificate Demifory.

the Council of State for the very first thing he printed, his Almanack of 1686; and, for an ordinary title of respect to Mr. Penn, ordered to print nothing thereafter without license from the Government. The Minutes of Friends' Meeting in 1687 shew that the Religious Body of the Province, then indeed supreme throughout our society, considered that the Press was as fair a subject of control by them. Here is one of the records :

“Quarterly Meeting 10 Month 5, 1687.

“ORDERED by this Meeting that William Bradford the Printer do shew “what may concern Friends or Truth before printing, to the Quarterly Meeting of Philadelphia; and if it require speed to the Monthly Meeting “where it may belong.

“And it is further ORDERED by the Meeting that John Eakly, John Shelfon, Samuel Richardson and Samuel Carpenter do view or peruse “the Almanack of Edward Eakin's writing, before it goes to be printed, “in behalf of this Meeting.”

What between the Political Enactment already referred to that Bradford should ‘blot out’ part of what he had printed, and thereafter should not print “any “thing but what shall have licence from ye Council,” and this new decree of the Body Ecclesiastical that before printing he should shew what may concern Friends *or* Truth—Truth and Friends being at this time in Pennsylvania identical—to the Quarterly Meeting or if it require speed to the Monthly Meeting—our civil and sober young man, to whom Thomas Lloyd and the rest of the magistrates had been desired by George Fox in 1685\* to give what encouragements they could, really found himself in

\* *cc Supra*, p. 25.

1687 in the free wilderness of Mr. Penn's woods much in the state of liberty which he would have enjoyed had he erected his Press upon the ancient and too civilized slopes of the Quirinal. In Rome itself, but two *Censuras* are required. The *Politico* is given *salvo il Ecclesiastico*, but when both are obtained the Compositor may begin. This distinction only would have existed in favour of the dominions of the Holy Father that, there, by effort, both *Permessos* may be had within two and seventy hours; while in Bradford's time and land, three months was the time contemplated as for ordinary, with the special privilege, indeed, of thirty days, if the thing—like the Proclamation of a Murder, I suppose—required “speed.”\*

The scene now shifts, and Bradford is listening to proposals from New York.

The desire to have the printing press had, however, been exhibited in this Province long prior to the date of which we are speaking (1692). In 1668 Governour Lovelace—your second English Governour—sending to Long Island some books which had been printed for the Indians in England, had written:

“I am not out of hopes, ere long, to have a printer here of my own; “having already sent to Boston for one; but whether I shall speed or no “is uncertain.†”

He did not speed.

The accession of James II., in 1685, put an end to

\* See Appendix, Note 11.

† For the extract above given from “Orders, Warrants, Letters, &c., “vol. ii, N. Y.,” and from other extracts, as well as for much important matter generally about the early press in New York, I have to express my great thanks to George Henry Moore, Esquire, Secretary of the New



all hopes like these. Among the first instructions from England were the following very gloomy ones, in 1686, to Governour Dongan :

“For as much as great inconvenience may arise by the liberty of printing within our Province of New York, you are to provide, by all necessary orders, that no person keep any press for printing; nor that any book, pamphlet, or other matters whatsoever, be printed—without your especial leave and license first obtained.”\*

With the Revolution of 1688 came brighter prospects, and Fletcher's active mind was quick to profit by them. Bradford's oft announced purpose of going back to England, and the schism by which every thing at Philadelphia had been thrown for the present into confusion, had doubtless become known far beyond the limits of Pennsylvania. We find, accordingly, the following Entry on the Council Minutes of your Province, meant obviously to attract our Bradford hither :

York Historical Society and the well known author of “*The Treason of Charles Lee*.” After I had accepted the invitation to make this Address, Mr. Moore in the kindest manner visited Albany, spent some days there, and collected from the MSS. in the Publick Departments large amounts of matter relating to this subject. Some of it not used here, I purpose to present, at the request of the Bradford Club, in another form, hereafter.

\* This order, as Mr. Moore observes, in transmitting it to me from the State Archives at Albany, is the more remarkable, since it does not appear that James II, while Duke of York, manifested any disinclination to having the press in his Colony. It is very probable that Mr. Penn's opposition to the press in 1689, as stated by Governour Blackwell (*Supra* p. 53), after having proposed to Bradford, before he came here, to print the Laws, may have been caused by some intimations from the Crown. Indeed, we can hardly doubt it.

“ March 23, 1693.

“ RESOLVED IN COUNCIL, That if a Printer will come and settle in the  
“ city of New York for the printing of our ACTS OF ASSEMBLY and PUBLICK  
“ PAPERS, he shall be allowed the sum of £40 current money of New York  
“ per annum for his salary and have the benefit of his printing besides what  
“ serves the publick.”\*

Bradford now, instead of returning to England, came to New York; a much better place every one will admit than London or any other town in the British Isles: I will say nothing, in the presence of so many ladies, about Paris, whither so many of your own people resort, and not unfrequently to reside; the city which boasts its ‘*Maison Delisle*’ for one class of one sex; and to which Edward Gibbon ought perhaps to reconcile the sobriest of the other by his recorded assurance,† that while the English “might say what  
“ they would of the frivolity of the French, he had  
“ heard, in one fortnight passed in Paris, more conversation worth remembering, and seen more men of  
“ letters among the people of fashion, than he had  
“ done in two or three winters in London.”‡

\* Council Minutes vi, 182 .

† Autobiography: Letter to Mrs. Gibbon, Paris, February 12, 1763.

‡ So many persons from New York, indeed from all parts of America, now reside, either temporarily or permanently, in Paris, and have the estimate of its intellectual attractions which Mr. Gibbon had, that permanent religious ministrations by American clergy in *American Church edifices*, are now becoming fully established in that city. Among the clergy who assisted at Trinity Church in doing honour to Bradford’s memory, and who were present also at the delivery of this address, was the Rev. W. O. Lamson, Rector of the American Church of the Holy Trinity in Paris; a gentleman now residing there in the exercise of his sacred office and duties; and I may add, I am sure, to the pleasure, consolation and advantage, moral and social, of every one who knows him.

Bradford and the Friends in Philadelphia—I ought to say, however—had previously dissolved their arrangements with perfect *bienfiance*. Here is the record: The spectator may see beneath it whatever its translucency, or the want of it, may disclose.

Monthly Meeting 2 month, 29, 1692.

“ William Bradford proposing to this Meeting that if Friends saw it fitting he desired to be discharged from the engagement between Friends and him concerning the Press, Friends having considered the matter are very willing the said Bradford should be free so far as regards this Meeting. And the Meeting appoints Samuel Carpenter, John De LaVale, Robert Ewer and Alexander Beardley to collect what is subscribed and due for the time past within the limits of this Meeting, and pay the same to William Bradford and bring an account thereof to the next Monthly Meeting.”

Arriving in New York he was immediately appointed ROYAL PRINTER. The 12th day of October, 1693, as Mr. Moore has discovered, is the date of the first warrant for his salary; six months referred to as “ due on the 10th preceding.”\* April 10th, 1693, therefore may be fixed as the epoch when printing was introduced into this Province. Soon after his arrival here we find Mr. Bradford included among the OFFICERS OF THE CROWN;† not a slight distinction in those days; nor even in these, measuring such things by British estimates.

Forty pounds a year, which was the salary fixed,

\* Council Minutes vii, 27; 12th October, 1693. ‘The next payment,’ writes Mr. Moore, ‘was for £10 one quarter salary to 10th January 1694; Id. vii, 49.’

† See “A List of all the Officers employed in Civil Offices in the Province of New York in America the 20th April 1693 and of their Salaries;” Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York, 4to, iv, 760.

would be thought rather "poor pay" in these times, at Albany, as the results of a year's printing. But the duty as originally required of the Crown Printer was confined to printing Acts of Assembly, Proclamations, &c., and in times when The Governour in Chief and Vice Admiral received only £600, the Collector and Receiver General £200, the Sub-Collector at Albany £50, and the Surveyor General £40, he was as well paid as they. Bradford was fortunate, too, perhaps, in living in more modest days than ours; and possibly not *less* honest ones; though I know, of course, that at Albany in this State, as at Harrisburgh in ours, honesty is the rule; every thing else being the rare exception.

The printing press had scarcely been established in New York, before the popular feeling desired to extend its use beyond that which the Provincial Government, on introducing it, had intended; which was to print the 'Acts of Assembly and Publick Papers,' such, I presume, as Proclamations, Royal Notices, &c. The proceedings shew how early and how deeply laid among our people was that "fierce spirit of liberty," "stronger," said Mr. Burke, "in the English Colonies probably than in any other people of the earth," and whose great variety of powerful causes that statesman traced and laid open, near a century ago, with such truth and such philosophy, in his speech upon Conciliation with America.\*

On the 20th October, 1694, for example, a Committee of the Council was appointed "to consider" "what papers and messages passed between his Excel-

\* The works of Edmund Burke; Boston, 1839, vol. ii, p. 32.



“ lency and Council and Assembly this sessions, are  
 “ proper to be printed and published—for the satisfac-  
 “ tion of the People.” Nothing, however, was re-  
 solved. The Crown influence, though silent, was too  
 strong.

But ‘the People’ were not discouraged. On the  
 12th April, 1695, the Assembly address the Governour  
 for leave “to print their Journal.” His Excellency  
 dissolved the House almost immediately.

The next Assembly, which met on the 20th June,  
 renewed the attempt to have their votes printed.  
 This time they were successful. The Governour, Col.  
 Fletcher, making, I suppose, a merit of necessity, gave  
 his assent graciously.

In returning his reply, it is interesting to note that  
 he expresses his hopes “that the House before the  
 “ sessions end, will allow The Printer something of  
 “ further encouragement.” Bradford’s salary was now  
 fixed at £60.

Whatever suggestions may hover about the name of  
 Fletcher—I know not that any one of them will ever  
 rest—his services, at this time, deserve, no doubt, our  
 eulogy. While the Rulers of Virginia, aiming, per-  
 haps, the prohibition at Bradford himself, ordered that  
 “ no one should use the printing press on any occasion  
 “ whatever,”\* your enlightened Governour was doing  
 all he could to invite it permanently to New York.  
 Do you ask which was the wiser Statesmanship? Be-

\* The Instructions to Lord Effingham who was appointed Governour in  
 1683 just about the time I suppose that Bradford may have been surveying  
 the Colonial field to see where he might with best advantage fix his posts,  
 are to this precise effect. (Thomas, *History of Printing* ii, 141.)

hold your own Commonwealth, abounding in riches, beautified by cultivation, preëminent in commerce, the home of increasing and *freeborn* millions—her metropolis one of the glories of this fair earth, and looking forth in pride upon the sea,—and then turn you, if as Americans you can turn, to Virginia—dismembered—desolated—disloyal—bankrupt and disgraced. *Can* it be that such a State was the birthplace of Washington and John Marshall?

The first issue of Bradford's press in this city, as your own distinguished citizen, Mr. Romeyn Brodhead, has discovered, was a POLYGLOT; one part being English, and the other, a duplicate, in Dutch. The imprint of the Dutch form of the paper—dated June 8, 1693—is "*Gedrukt tot Nieuwe Yorke, by William Bradfordt, Anno 1693.*" This double language is note-worthy as indicating the probable equiponderance in New York in 1693 of Hollanders and English; while it shows also either that "Bradfordt" understood the tongue of the first settlers or was able to 'compose' in a language he did not comprehend. The first of these originals—the one, I mean, in Dutch—Mr. Brodhead discovered among the Archives of that venerable Body the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church; the other, in English—in which form he had conjectured that the document was issued some time before he found it actually existing—was discovered by him afterwards at Albany, whither he went to verify, if possible, his conjecture. And, now, what think you, at this moment, that it was? A circular letter from the then Governour of New York, Col. Fletcher, authorizing the collection of money throughout the Provinces to mitigate the

sufferings of Prisoners; to redeem from slavery brave men, who had been taken captive and sold into bondage in Salee! Was ever press of any land auspicated by more benignant omens? Who wonders, that in this day "Sanitary Commissions"—"Soldiers' Aid Societies," and the hundred efforts to ameliorate the condition of our noble invalids and prisoners, draw from every Journal of *this* State enthusiastick eulogy and blessing? The benignant scheme itself originated, it is possible, with that noble old Body in whose Archives the record, in the Dutch form, now alone exists; a religious association, the first, I believe, of all your churches in point of time; never rearward of the first in any enterprize of piety and usefulness.\*

Thus reads the English duplicate of this paper. It affords an interesting memorial alike of the primitive manners, and the primitive beneficence of the people of New York:

"*Benjamin Fletcher*, Captain General and Governour-in-Chief of the  
 "Province of New York, Province of Pennsylvania, and County of  
 "New Castle, and the Territories and Tracts of Land depending  
 "thereon, in America.

"*To all Officers and Ministers Ecclesiastical and Civil throughout the*  
 "*Provinces and Territories under my Government.*

"**W**HEREAS, I am credibly informed that the son of Warner Wessels, and husband of Antie Christians, inhabitants and sailors of the city of New York, following  
 "their lawful occupation were taken into Sallay, where they are now in  
 "miserable slavery under the power of the Infidel, and that their rela-

\* See Appendix, Note 12.



" tions are not able to advance a fufficient ranfom for their redemption,  
 " I have therefore, upon their application unto me, by and with the advice  
 " of the Council, out of Chriftian charity, and in commiferation of the  
 " greivous bondage and flavery of the faid perfons, granted and do by  
 " thefe prefent grant licence or liberty to the faid Warner Weffels and  
 " Antie Chriftians to ask and receive the free and charitable benevolence  
 " of all Chriftian people under my Government, as well at publick  
 " meetings as private dwelling houfes. And to avoid irregularity in col-  
 " lecting the fame all minifters or preachers where there are parifh  
 " churches or publick or private meeting houfes are required to publish a  
 " true copy of this grant by reading thereof openly and affixing thereof  
 " afterwards upon the door or other publick place and admonifh the  
 " people to Chriftian charity and at the next meeting fhall receive the  
 " free offering and benevolence of the people for the ufe aforefaid. And  
 " where no churches nor meeting houfes are the conftables are hereby  
 " required in their refpective precincts, having a true copy of this grant,  
 " to go about and collect the charity of good Chriftian people for the ufe  
 " above faid. Of all which benevolence and charity the faid minifters or  
 " preachers and conftables are to keep a diftinct account, which they are  
 " to tranfmit with what money they fhall collect by virtue of this  
 " grant without delay, to Stephen Courtland, Efq., Peter Jacob Marius,  
 " John Kerbyll and John Kipp, who are hereby impowered to receive  
 " the fame and tranfmit the faid money or fo much as fhall be requifite  
 " for the redemption of the faid captives from flavery by the beft and  
 " moft convenient means and way. Provided always that in cafe there  
 " fhall be a furplufage above the value of their redemption, or in cafe any  
 " of the faid perfons fhall be dead or otherwife redeemed, they the faid  
 " Stephen Courtland, Efq., Peter Jacobs Marius, John Kerbyll and John  
 " Kip fhall be accountable to me, or to the Governour and Commander-  
 " in-Chief for the time being, for the fum collected or fo much thereof  
 " as is left upon their or fome of their redemption that it may be fet  
 " apart for the like or other pious ufes and for no other ufe or intent  
 " whatfoever.

" Given under my hand and feal at Fort William Henry the 8th day  
 " of June, 1693.

" BEN. FLETCHER.

" Printed by William Bradford, Printer to King William and Queen Mary  
 " at the City of New York. Anno 1693."



The next paper printed here is a Proclamation, 25th of August of the same year. At this crisis of our Country's history, when so many thoughts are turned to the coast defences of New York, and how best to repel invasion, if it seeks to come, from this the centre of our Nation's wealth, it will interest us all :

“BY HIS EXCELLENCY,

“*Benjamin Fletcher*, Captain General and Governour-in-Chief of their  
“Majesties' Province of New York, Province of Pennsylvania, County  
“of New Castle, and the Territories and Tracts of Land depending  
“thereon, in America, and Vice Admiral of the same.

“A PROCLAMATION.

“*Province of New York, ss.*

“**W**HEREAS, there is Actual War between our Sovereign  
Lord and Lady, *William and Mary*, by the Grace  
of God of *England, Scotland France* and Ireland  
“King and Queen, Defenders of the Faith, &c., and the French  
“King. And whereas, I have received information that the French  
“have designed a squadron of Ships, with Land Forces, against the  
“Province of *New York*. To the end that the inhabitants thereof  
“may be in greater readiness to unite their Strength against the enemy,  
“I have therefore thought fit, and do hereby charge and command,  
“that the Inhabitants of every town throughout the Province do, at  
“their own charge, in the most convenient place, forthwith erect  
“a Beacon, which, upon the appearance of any Squadron of Ships on  
“the Coast or Alarm given, they are to set on Fire; that all persons  
“may have Notice thereof. And I do hereby require all the Inhabi-  
“tants, (excepting those of the city and county of *Albany*, and counties of  
“*Ulster* and *Dutchess county*,) that upon such alarm and firing of the Bea-  
“con, they drive their cattle into the woods, and immediately repair with  
“their Arms and Ammunition, to their respective Officers, who are like-  
“wise hereby commanded to march them with all expedition to the city  
“of New York. And I expect a due compliance herein from all Persons,  
“as they will answer the same at their utmost Peril.

"Given at Fort William Henry, the 25th day of August, 1693.  
*"Annoq. Regni Regis Et Reginae Gulielmi & Mariae Angliæ, &c.,*  
*"quinto.*

"BEN. FLETCHER.

"God Save King William and Queen Mary.

*"Printed and sold by William Bradford, Printer to their Majesties King*

*"William and Queen Mary at the city of New York, 1693."\**

We trust in this day to the guns of Fort Hamilton and Fort La Fayette, and to the brave men who guard these defences. We should need, I fancy, small Proclamation to summon millions to repel the invader, from whatever land he came.

\* For a copy of this document I am indebted to E. B. O'Callaghan, M. D., so long connected with the Department of State at Albany; well known to the public by his antiquarian labours and not less so to his friends by the readiness with which he puts the stores of his own learning at their command. His labours have discovered a great number of original papers by Bradford, which he has arranged in beautiful order at Albany (Secretary of State's Office), and these will afford to the future biographer of the first printer one of the best sources of information in regard to him. In sending me the fac-simile made by his own hand of the proclamation of the 25th of August, 1693, Dr. O'Callaghan remarks: "You will notice some of the letters accentuated thus, à, á, â, shewing that our aimiable friend Mr. Bradford was 'out of sorts' at the moment." The fact is, that Bradford's 'letters' had been seized in Pennsylvania in 1692 by a prevailing religious faction then there; and though ordered by the Governour and Council to be restored to him there is no evidence that they were restored in the state in which they were taken; or that, in point of fact, he ever got them at all. He was fixed in New York at the date of the order of Restoration. The Proclamation copied for me by Dr. O'Callaghan was originally among the MSS. of the State Department, but by that gentleman's care was transferred for greater security to the State Library where it now is. "Another Proclamation," writes Mr. Moore to me "of 13 November, 1693, in Coll. MSS. xxxix, 106, gives 'this same imprint, with an addition.' 'Printed and Sold, &c., &c. .... 'at the Sign of the Bible in the city of New York,' &c."

As early as 1694 Bradford printed the Laws of the Province of New York,\* and in the same year the Laws and Charter of this City.† He was Printer both to the State Government and to the City Corporation. The people of this noble City, you observe, began their very existence in the majesty of Law. In the Law's observance they have continued that existence, as well, I may safely affirm—as the rest of us. In the same year of 1694 Bradford produced a Tract entitled “*Seasonable Considerations offered to the good people of Connecticut.*” This work, for which he was paid, as for an ‘extraordinary service,’ had reference, I presume, to that question of your eastern boundary which, in early days, disturbed the peace of people along the left bank of the river Hudson. I know of no copy of the paper now existing. It was replied to from Connecticut, and from the reply a knowledge of its contents can probably be had.

One of the first books that has come down to us, printed in this city, I here shew to you. [Exhibiting a very little book exquisitely bound.] And how think you it is entitled? “*A letter of Advice to A Young Gentleman leaving the University,—concerning his Behaviour and Conversation on the World.*” You see that the Young Gentlemen of New York, in A. D. 1696, when this book was printed, needed very little advice. As for the Young Ladies—since I have never heard that Bradford printed a companion to this vol-

\* A copy is in the Library of Mr. Lenox, and another in the Secretary of State's Office at Albany.

† 25th October, 1694. See Common Council Minutes ii, 173; Id. 176.



ume—it is plain that the case was in 1696, as it is now: those lovely creatures, discreet, always, as they are charming, needed—no advice at all.

The volume, which is well written, is interesting as the production of an American pen.\* The book, in those days, made, I presume, not unfrequently a pretty little present to young people from their seniors. The copy which I shew you, and which, like the other Bradfords I exhibit, belongs to the exquisite collection of Mr. Menzies, was given in 1701, as an inscription in it records, by ‘Dominie Clap,’ some venerable schoolmaster of his day, to a youth named John Robinson; a person whose maturer fame, I grieve to say, has not descended to our times; unless, indeed, he be that very person celebrated for the expedition with which he discharged every duty and who is now irreverently known only by a *soubriquet*.†

\* An American pen meant, of course, as applicable to those days, any pen actually used in America. The author, Richard Lyons, was, I believe, a person from the British Isles; but he had been, I think, a tutor in the University of Cambridge, Massachusetts. I am not certain, however, about any of this.

† If ever we should have a Dictionary of Fictitious Persons, Strange Names, &c., I hope that ‘ROBINSON, Jack’ will form one of the titles; with a history of those exploits as yet imperfectly related to the world, by which the expression “As quick as Jack Robinson,” has come to be the very expression of celerity.

The copy exhibited of the little book referred to in the text belonged to the late Mr. E. B. Corwin. At the sale of his beautiful library it sold for \$12.50. After the honours of the Bradford Commemoration, it would have sold, I doubt not, for \$100. Its original price, I suppose, might have been 6d. I have already said that to Mr. Corwin’s close observation we are indebted for the discovery in the Almanack of 1739, of the exact date of Bradford’s birth.



Although the printer's salary was fixed—first at £40, and then at £60, Bradford was always receiving extra allowances. It was then at New York as now at Washington. As long as Fletcher was in power, the press was well supported and every thing was done alike with liberality and grace. These were generous times. Listen to their record!

“February 15, 1694.

“William Bradford having exhibited an account of sundries printed by direction of his Excellency and Council for the use of the Government amounting to considerable value, which cannot be supported by his salary, the Board in consideration of his extraordinary services, and the printing of a book entitled ‘*Reasonable Considerations Offered to the Good People of Connecticut*,’ have corrected the said account and ordered a warrant issued for the payment of £30 to the said William Bradford.”\*

In 1698, however, Col. Fletcher was displaced. His liberality in every way was thought excessive, particularly in the grants of land. The Earl of Bellomont succeeded him; a reformer, and in favour of retrenchment of all salaries—except perhaps his own. Bradford and the new Governour soon got into difficulty. The first intimation of it is in a letter from the Earl to the Lords of Trade, May 15, 1699. The Earl writes that he had spoken to ‘The Printer’ about some laws which were said to have been incorrectly printed; and he told me, says the Earl,† “there was no remedy for it, because he had nobody to correct the press at the time he printed them.” Bradford, it is plain, was “curst and brief.” The Earl might go

\* Council Minutes vii, 54

† Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York iv, 522.

without the printing altogether. Things now come a little closer. About five months later\* the Earl had been having a conference with the Indians. It lasted seven or eight days, "the greatest fatigue," he writes,† "I ever underwent in my whole life." "I was shut up," he says, "in a close chamber with fifty Sachems, who "besides the stench of Bear's Grease, with which they plentifully daubed themselves," [You see that Bear's Grease is not a modern cosmetick] "were continually "either smoking tobacco or drinking drams of rum." [Neither are these, it appears, accomplishments of our time alone.] The Earl was desirous to send a printed account of these agreeable conferences, during the seven or eight days that he was shut up in a close chamber, with fifty Indians, plentifully daubed with bear's grease, smoking tobacco and drinking drams of rum—to the Ministers of State in England. He thought it would be agreeable reading, no doubt, to the Lords of Trade, and give a good impression of his hair-breadth 'scapes among "the anthropophagi and men whose heads do "grow beneath their shoulders." Bradford, however, did not consider these *private* diaries by the Earl, of his seven or eight days' discussions with the fifty Indians shut up with him in a close chamber, plentifully daubed with bear's grease, smoking tobacco, and drinking drams of rum—as among those things which he was bound to print, for his £60. He was accordingly not forthcoming on his Lordship's call. He was affected with what in Lord Chatham's day was known among aristocratick statesmen as "a political fit

\* 17th October, 1700.

† Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York iv, 714.

“ of the gout ;” and in the vernacular of our western people is, less elegantly, described, I believe, as “ playing possum.” On the 17th of October, 1700, his Lordship writes\* to the Lords of Trade: “ Our Printer being *sick*, I could not have my private “ diary of conference with the Indians, printed.” The nature of the malady appears on the Minutes of Council, fourteen days later.†

“ 31 October, 1700.

“ Whereas, Mr. Bradford, the Printer, hath wholly, for these four “ months past, *neglected* his duty in printing the proclamations and *con- “ ferences* when his Lordship was at Albany, his Excellency had therefore “ thought fit to displace him from his office. And Mr. Abraham Gouver- “ neur having, by reason of the want of said Printer, been employed by “ his Excellency to make several copies of his Lordship’s said conference “ with the Indians, for his Lordship to send to the Ministers of State in “ England, it is therefore ordered, that Mr. Bradford be debarred from “ receiving any salary from the five and twentieth day of June last, and “ that a warrant issue for the payment of the sum of £3 12s. to the said “ Mr. Abraham Gouverneur for his said service.”

Notwithstanding that Earl Bellomont was the more potential personage in such a business, Bradford gained his case very soon by anticipating that excellent advice of the Comte de Bufff to a friend who had lost his lawsuit: “ *Conservez vous ; et croyez que si vous survivez “ a vos parties adverses, ce seront elles qui auront perdu “ leur proces.*” “ Take good care of yourself, and be “ persuaded that if you will only let your adversary “ *die* before you, it is he, not you, who has lost the “ case.” Earl Bellomont lived but four months and five days after this cynical decree,‡ and as Bradford

\* Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York iv. 714.

† Council Minutes viii, 179 (*bis*.)

‡ ‘ He died,’ says Mr. Moore in writing to me, ‘ 5th March, 1701.’

survived him by more than half a century, he came off fairly victor on this score.

The quarrel was so obviously, however, a financial one, that on the installation of Lord Cornbury, Bradford, after being debarred from them for about nine months, received again his emoluments; and in November, 1702, having presented a petition complaining of the smallness of his salary, and the complaint being considered by the Governour and Council well founded, £15 were at once\* added to his annual stipend, and the same fixed at £75, nearly double the sum originally promised.

From this date Mr. Bradford's health, it would seem, rapidly improved, and proof-readers became abundant in New York.

Notwithstanding, however, the liberal provision, "it is to be noted," says Mr. Moore in writing to me, "that Bradford worked for the Crown, very much, by faith. Little money greeted his fight in Lord Cornbury's time. An Act of the Legislature, 30th October, 1708, for 'Raising a Fund for defraying some Extraordinary Charges that have happened in this Colony,' gives our friend two sums, one of them being no less than £252 18s. Warrants had been issued at various dates from the 2nd of February 1703 to the 11th of January 1706, for sums included in the appropriations, but which had as yet remained unpaid.† In all this, however, Brad-

\* November 23, 1702. Journals of Assembly; Council Minutes ix, 169; Book of Warrants, *passim*.

† MS. Act in the Secretary's Office at Albany: Council Minutes x, 451.



“ford did but participate with other publick servants  
“of Lord Cornbury’s times. They were paid only  
“after great delays.” I mention farther on that  
Bradford printed the sermon of Dr. Sharpe, Chaplain  
of the Queen’s Forces, preached at Trinity Church  
A. D. 1706, on the death of Lady Cornbury, wife  
to this dilatory Earl. Mr. Moore’s information to  
me that his Lordship was negligent in attending to  
the publick creditors, explains a little incident which I  
find recorded on the fly-leaf of Mr. Menzies’ copy  
of this sermon. Thus it reads :

“On the death of Lady Cornbury, who was a young and beautiful  
“woman, distinguished too by rank, her husband asked the Legislature to  
“allow her a publick funeral. That body, with decorous expressions of  
“regret, declined the Earl’s request ; but added with *empressement*, that  
“they would, at any time, be most happy in granting one to his Lord-  
“ship.”

The matter has no special relation to Bradford, and  
I mention the thing only for the benefit of *State*  
Treasurers every where ; particularly of the fiscal head  
of my own State ; who, invoking the name of ‘a tax,’  
manages to cheat us every year out of one twentieth  
of the interest which the Commonwealth when bor-  
rowing our money promised to pay ;\* and yours, who  
I see it stated *now* pays your interest in paper, instead  
of paying it as he ought to do, in the expected coin.  
Unless both take heed to their ways, Lord Corn-  
bury Funerals plainly await them.

From an early date we find Bradford’s name in con-

\* The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania promises by her contracts to  
pay her creditors five per cent per annum. Without having any general  
income tax, she pays four and three quarters per cent only ; ‘deducting  
‘and retaining’ for herself the residue, or rather never raising it at all.

nexion with Trinity Church. He was first chosen a vestryman, on Tuesday, in Easter week, 1703. 'And the records,' says Mr. G. M. Ogden, Secretary of the Vestry, 'shew that he was generally present at the Vestry Meetings.\*' The Minutes run as follows :

"December 10, 1703.

"ORDERED, that Mr. Bradford and his wife do sit in that half of the "pew which was formerly Mr. Samuel Burts', along with Mr. Dirk" [an unfortunate name for a near neighbour anywhere except at Church,] "Mr. Dirk Vandenburgh, until the said Burts' male children are of age "to use the same."

This limitation to half a pew would indicate that it was about as difficult to be accommodated with pew seats in Trinity in 1703, when the office was simply said, as it is now in 1863, when 'in service high and anthems clear,' the 'full choral' is so delightfully and so reverently sung. The entry, too, would indicate that the church's care for little children, was less in that day, than it has been made in ours. For myself I know not at what age children are not 'of years' to use their paternal pew.†

\* I must here express my thanks to the Vestry of Trinity Church and to the estimable gentleman above named, by whom extracts from the Ancient Minutes have been furnished to me, under resolutions of the corporation, with every courteous and every obliging offer.

"Under the Ministry Act of 1693," writes Mr. Moore to me, "there "was a Vestry of *the City of New York* several years before the establishment of Trinity Church, and this organization continued down to the "Revolution. Of this body Bradford was a Vestryman in the year "1704."

† My respected friend the Rev<sup>d</sup> Dr. Ogilby, who did excellent religious service, as I can testify, at Burlington, New Jersey, and at Philadelphia, in my own State, and who now so usefully occupies one of the stalls of Trinity, suggests, I am told, in defence of his church in ancient

"April 19, 1704.

"ORDERED, that Mr. Honan and Mr. Bradford collect the contributions of the Church for two months, and Mr. Tothill in the Gallery, for the same time."

Here you see that in 1704, *two* vestrymen made the collections in the nave and aisles of Trinity, which now, I think, usually engage four or six. Whether the *money* in this day is so much more generally forthcoming than it was in that, to detain the Questmen, or whether the Questmen moved with more activity than than now, while the charming interludes of Mr. Cutler touch every heart and make delays delightful, I must refer it to the Accounting Warden to discover.

"June 14, 1704.

"ORDERED, Mr. Bradford be paid for a book to enter the records of "Marriages and Baptisms, and for printing two laws for the Church—" £4 4s."

In those days, as in these, it is obvious that old Trinity was expected to pay CORPORATION PRICES for all sorts of services.

"July 24, 1704.

"Mr. Bradford presented an account of £5 2s. 1½d. collected in the "body of the Church the two Sundays Mr. Honan was absent; being "Whitfunday last and the 23d inst."

A very fair collection for the hot month of July! though I suppose that Trinity Church was less depleted in those summers by Saratoga and Newport

times, that Mr. Burts' "male children" were not put out of church at all, but with their sisters, (not mentioned in the entry), were provided with seats better adapted to their tender years among the Sunday School scholars. I am happy, both for the sake of *old* Trinity and of Mr. Bradford and his wife, whose souls would not have been profited by sitting, under the apparent circumstances, "in that half of the pew which was formerly Mr. Samuel Burts"—to accept so felicitous a view of the case.

than Trinity Chapel will, in two months, be in ours. The collection, you see, was made by Mr. Bradford alone. Mr. Honan "was absent," the record says, and "for two Sundays" looking exceedingly as if 'Mr. Honan' had run off from town, Trinity Church and all, to the springs or sea shore—to see some handsome lady no doubt; that's what we all go there for, I suspect, if we only told the truth. I know not how it is at present with the churches in New York, but unless the congregations here are more ready to give and glad to distribute than some I know of elsewhere, the Sunday collections were better a hundred and fifty years ago than now.

Here comes a formidable entry, to be sure! It is of the same date, July 24, 1704.

"ORDERED, that Captain Lurting," [Lurting was an important person, afterwards Mayor of the City,] "Captain Tothill," [another of the Queen's officers, and not to be despised,] "Mr. Bradford and Mr. "Honan," [Mr. Honan you see had returned to town—he had seen the lady, no doubt. What he said to her I don't know: You ladies know what gentlemen generally say to you when you go to Saratoga and Newport,] "be appointed to IMPORTUNE ALL STRANGERS' benevolence towards "the church and steeple."

A comfortable office, this, it must have been, for a vestryman of Trinity, to importune all strangers arriving in New York to help build a church and steeple! although really the way in which Cologne is at this moment building her Beauty of the World as respects travellers in Rhenish Prussia. Few persons come near the Cathedral without being very civilly importuned. I never knew till now, however, with regard to Trinity, how good a right persons every where who need money to build "a church and steeple," have to importune *her* be-



yond all churches of the earth ; and why strangers may properly look at Mr. Upjohn's beauteous structure above the other lions of New York. The next time I am waited upon in Philadelphia—as I am much oftener than is of the least benefit to the visitor himself, though, of course, not half so often as is agreeable to me—by any poor Rector—a stranger—begging for his parish, I shall know exactly where, of right, to send him. Indeed, I almost fear that hereafter, when I go myself to Trinity, unless it is in time of Service, I shall, as a stranger in New York, be a little bit disposed to look with condescension even on the Reverend Rector Dr. Dix himself. I ask his pardon in advance if I shall commit so great an impropriety.

How long Mr. Bradford continued to exercise his gifts of 'importunity' upon strangers, I cannot discover ; nor with what success. I rather think that he may have done his share of the committee work, as gentlemen of refined sensibilities not unfrequently do theirs in like cases, and have paid the money out of his own purse. The only record I can find is one of May 1711, where it is stated that Mr. Bradford had, himself, given eighteen shillings towards finishing the steeple.

In 1704, or soon afterwards, Bradford achieved an enterprise more german to our general subject. The Church Records are as follows :

“ August 23d, 1704.

“ ORDERED that the Church Wardens do lend Mr. Bradford Thirty or “ Forty Pounds for six months, on security, without interest, for purchasing paper to print *Common Prayer Books*.”

The Rev. John Sharpe, D. D., Chaplain of the Queen's Forces at the Fort and as such an Assistant

Minister of the Church,—whose Sermon on the death of Lady Cornbury, printed by Bradford, and already referred to,\* I have the honour here to show you, [Exhibiting an elegantly bound volume of 16 pages] became the security. The Prayer Book was published, but the Church of England, I suppose, in that day being feeble in the Colonies, and most persons then, as now, having a taste for foreign ‘articles’ in preference to as useful domestick ones, it did not remunerate the Publisher. Mr. Bradford having given a bond for interest due after six months on the money which had been lent to him, we find, at a later date, the following entry :

“April 26, 1711.

“ . . . . In consideration of the great loss he has sustained in printing the Common Prayer and New Version of the Psalms, ORDERED that the Church Wardens deliver to Mr. Bradford his said Bond.”

We thus see that the munificence which has distinguished the Corporation of Trinity Church, New York; in later days, making her, in the New World, a *Mater Urbis et Orbis*, as much as *San Giovanne Laterano* is in the Old, began in her earliest days with acts of considerate justice. Bibliologically, the fact is revealed by these minutes—one of which, otherwise, I think no publick proof survives—that the first edition of the Book of Common Prayer ever actually printed in America was printed under the auspices of Trinity Church, by one of her Vestrymen; an assistant Minister of the Church, being himself the surety for the fidelity of the Printer’s contracts.†

\* *Supra*, p. 77.

† I know not if any copy of this *Editio Princeps Americana* of a book which now covers a continent in numberless forms, has survived its century and sixty years. I count it a singular proof of its rarity that Mr. Men-

This first American edition of the Prayer Book, it seems, had 'the new version of the Psalms.' Whether this distinction had any thing to do with the loss which Bradford encountered in giving it to the publick, the records of Trinity, so far as I have seen them, do not shew us. It is possible enough that one hundred and fifty years ago, the parishioners of so conservative a fold as her's preferred the venerable fathers of psalmody, Sternhold and Hopkins, to Messrs. Tate and Brady, then coming above the poetical horizon, and regarded in England as something quite supreme.\* Consecrated as the elder versions may have been by early recollections 'at home;' sung as they had heard them by 'friends in youth,' and taught, as possibly they may have been, by parental lips to their own infant tongues, they were perhaps reluctant to part with the time-honoured stanzas. Nothing, to them, seemed an improvement on the venerable verses :

"As owl in ivy bush

"Such a one Lord, was I."

And on that other excellent couplet, illustration of a class :

"The Lord will come and he will not

"Keep silence but speak out."

Less changes than that which Bradford here attempted for the better, have tolled the profits of a publisher ; much less ones upset the peace of parishes.

zies, my greatest source of information on the Bradford bibliography, had never, until I shewed him the records of Trinity, heard of its existence. I cannot tell exactly when it issued ; but prior certainly to 1714.

\* See the Bishop of London's recommendation of the New Version. If I remember, Tate was Poet Laureat.

Bradford, I may add, would seem to have been an amateur of sacred poetry, or perhaps a *curioso*. I have seen a letter written by him in extreme old age, asking a descendant to send him a copy of Dr. Watts's newly published Psalms and Hymns. I presume that after reading them the good old gentleman was satisfied that even the excellent non-conformist of Stoke-Newington could make no improvement on the Psalter "as God and David wrote it." I should have no objection if the Christian world were of the same advice to-day.

While thus himself engaged in the City of New York, Bradford sought to maintain those wider relations which as we have seen from George Fox's letter had been in his mind from an early date. His son, Andrew, having come to man's estate, he now sought to establish him in some other place where he might anticipate that rival enterprise which the growing prosperity of the Colonies seemed so likely every where to invite. The Proceedings of the General Assembly at Newport, Rhode Island, present us the negotiation.\*

" 22 March, 1709.

" VOTED, and it is further ENACTED that whereas there is one Bradford, son to Bradford the Printer of New York, who hath offered himself to set up a Printing Press in this place, and to find paper and print all things that may relate to the Colony and Government for £50 a year, if it be but for one year or two :

" The Assembly considering the premises, are upon conditions aforesaid, willing to allow him £50 for one year, and so yearly, if the Colony see good to improve him."

Old Mr. Bradford probably thought the 'conditions aforesaid'—which bound his son 'to find paper and print all things that might relate to the Colony and

\* *Colonial Records of Rhode Island* iii, 65.



‘Government for £50 a year,’—rather sharp conditions, and declined them.\*

He established his son finally in Philadelphia in 1712; making him his own partner. This press thus established for Bradford’s son, continued in his family, this son, a grandson (a nephew of the last), a great grandson, and two great-great-grandsons—without interruption (except during the occupancy of our city by the British in 1777) until the year 1825.

The office of Printer to the Crown for this Province, which Bradford received from Governour Fletcher, he held under William and Mary, Queen Anne, George I., and George II.; a longer term than any individual before or afterwards held the same post in these Colonies.

He was appointed by the Legislature in 1709 to the responsible office of publishing all the Acts of Assembly at that time in force; a trust which indicates great confidence in his capacity. Notwithstanding the labour which such a task imposed the digest was issued from the press within the year. It is still a work of authority, and as I have observed in reading your Law Reports—in times when I used to read them—is frequently appealed to in your courts upon questions relating to the early jurisprudence of New York. It must always indeed remain of value, as in it are found the only existing records of much of the early Legislation of this State. From original papers of Bradford now arranged by Dr. O’Callaghan’s care in the Secretary

\* The Province of New York was more liberal! Frequent warrants are found to pay Bradford for paper got for the use of the Assembly: one of £4 17s. 6d. on the 15 May, 1699, Council Minutes viii, 110.

of State's Office at Albany, I infer that Bradford was not only the publisher of this work but the originator and compiler of it also. The idea, plan and execution—legal, literary and typographical—the whole work, in short, was his; and taken in connexion with his enterprise of the Bible and Prayer-Book, his paper-making operations, his building of wharves, engraving of maps, and editing and printing of a newspaper at the age of eighty, shew a remarkable vigour and versatility of talent.

I have mentioned that Bradford was the founder, in part, of the first paper-mill ever established on this Continent. In 1724, being then sixty-one years old, and contemplating, no doubt, the establishment which he perfected in the next year, of a newspaper in this city, he sought to acquire from the Legislature of this Province a monopoly of the new art, which he proposed to introduce here. The project was favourably received, and passed the Assembly, the popular branch of the Legislature. It seemed, too, to be in a fair way of successful accomplishment entirely, but on a final reading of the Bill in Council, as the Provincial minutes show—on the 16 July—by a small majority perhaps—it was carried in the *negative*; the wrong way for the enterprising design of Mr. Bradford.

In the next year, 1725, and being then sixty-two years old, Bradford established in this city the first newspaper ever known here, and his son Andrew having previously established the *American Weekly Mercury* in Philadelphia and become Post-Master there—a matter which was valuable in those days—as I suppose it might be in these to the publisher of any journal—he purchased in 1728 a large paper factory at Eliza-

bethtown, New Jerſey. He thus rendered his own eſta bliſhment and his ſon's in Philadelphia independent of the paper manufacturers of Great Britain. In the tariff State of Pennſylvania, we count this quite a feather in his cap. The *New York Gazette*, of which I exhibit to you a volume, appeared but once a week—on Mondays—and from 1725 till 1733 was the only paper in New York. You ſee the ſize of it. How think you the good people of this State would now enjoy one newſpaper, of this ſize, once a week? It would be as bad as a blockade—I was going to ſay; but not having lately come from Charleſton, might ſpeak with inſufficient knowledge of the practical meaning of that term.

I take leave to offer you a little news from this Journal. The Reporters of the Preſs, who are obliging enough to be preſent at the foot of the ſtage, will not fail, I truſt, to give it to the publick in their iſſue of to-morrow morning as “The very Lateſt from Europe,” and as “Highly Interſting.”\*

“*London, May 14, 1726.* The ſtage coaches near Bath were ſtopt laſt Thurſday by one highwayman, who took what money they gave him; which was about £10. He ſaid it was too little; but he put it up, ſaying he had a wife and five children, and thought it better to collect charity for them than to lie in priſon for debt.”

“We hear his Grace, the Duke of Mancheſter, will be made Captain of the Band of Gentleman Penſioners, in the room of the late Duke of St. Albans.”

We next have an item of intelligence which would

\* The arrangements for the Reporters in the Hall of the Union are very good. They ſit almoſt at the feet of the Speaker; but in ſuch a way that he ſcarcely ſees what they are doing; while they hear him well, and can receive from him, without an effort, any note or document which he may deſire to give them.

rather indicate that our French friends were far ahead of us in the use of the steam-engine as a means of supplying cities with water; and indeed that they applied it to that purpose before the steam-engine was much known at all.

“*Paris, May 18, 1726.* On the 11th, the Royal Academy of Sciences went to Passy to view the machine that has been made there for raising of water by the help of fire. The experiment was made before them and succeeded perfectly well. In twenty-four hours’ time, “it will raise 20,925 hogheads of water.”

Here is a record in regard to a royal personage of France, which readily shews why he may have been so much better liked as a youth than he was in his later life!

“*London, November 17, 1726.* Letters from Paris give us, with great triumph, the following instance of their young monarch’s good nature, who being one day at table after he had been overturned in his chaise, the master of the horse asked him ‘what he would please to have done with the coachman that over-turned him.’ ‘*Why,*’ said the king, with a sweetness of temper which charmed all the court, ‘*let him drive me again to-morrow.*’”

In France as in England, the science of Medical Surgery appears to have been in 1726 behind its then American advancement. Here is the record!

“*Paris, November 23, 1726.* The king, who was to have touched the diseased this month, has put off that ceremony till the 24th. On the 17th his Majesty had a slight indisposition, which went off again and did not hinder him from going abroad the next day.”

Next is a singular entry! The only thought suggested by the death of *Sir Isaac Newton* is that an office to which a salary of £500 was annexed has become vacant! Certainly we were still eminently *English*.

“*London, March 18, 1727.* Yesterday morning, died, aged eighty-



“ five, Sir Isaac Newton, Kt., Master of his Majesty’s Mint at the Tower,  
 “ to which place is annexed a salary of £500 per annum; and President  
 “ of the Royal Society.”

Here is an item or two of domestick intelligence.

“ *Philadelphia, June 27, 1726.* A sloop arrived here on Sunday  
 “ last from Rhode Island, who saw the pirate ‘Snow,’ in a calm, off  
 “ Block Island, at a great distance; who sent out their boat full of hands  
 “ with a black flag. They came within pistol-shot of the sloop; but the  
 “ sloop bringing some quarter-deck guns to fire upon them, they made  
 “ off again.”

“ *New York, March 13, 1726.* Publick notice is hereby given that  
 “ at Philadelphia they have found out some twelve shilling bills that are  
 “ counterfeit. They are newly printed and very artfully signed. In the  
 “ flourish on the top of the bill, there is the representation of a *basket*;  
 “ which in the counterfeit is much finer than in the true bills, and the  
 “ great **T** is much plainer than in the true bills.”

“ *New York, April 10, 1727.* This is to give notice to all gentlemen  
 “ and others, that a Lottery is to be drawn at Mr. John Stevens’ in  
 “ Perth Amboy, for 50*l.* of silver and gold work, wrought by Simeon  
 “ Soumain, of New York, Goldsmith; *all of the newest fashion.*

“ Tickets are given out at 6*s.* New York money, or 7*s.* Jersey money,  
 “ for each ticket, at the house of Mr. John Stevens, in Amboy; at Mr.  
 “ Andrew Bradford’s, in Philadelphia; at Mr. Lewis Carces’, in Allen-  
 “ town; at Mr. Samuel Clewe’s, in Jamaica, Long Island; and at  
 “ Simeon Soumain’s, in the city of New York, at which last place the  
 “ goods are to be seen.”

Another historical monument, of about this date,\* from Bradford’s press, is a well known Plan of the City of New York, from actual survey by Lyne. It is curious as being an engraved map; from copper-plate undoubtedly; one of the earliest specimens of copper-plate engraving—perhaps the earliest on so large a scale—on this Continent. I exhibit you a

\* Fac Similes bear the date of 1728; but these figures, I believe, are not on the original.

copy. [Map exhibited.] On this map a Rope-walk occupies Broadway above the Aftor House; Broadway being in fact an open street only from the Battery to that point; and the Bowery from its junction with Broadway at the extremity of the Park, being still indicated as the High Road to Boston. Many a rogue has found it the high road to a worse place—called the Tombs.

The value of this map has frequently been attested in our own times. The Corporation of New York had it printed in fac-simile in 1836 to illustrate a great question connected with its line of Western Piers, and thirteen years later the Congress of the United States thought it worthy of perpetuation as a national document. The copy I shew you is one of the reproductions ordered in 1849 by that body.\* In the great suit of *Bogardus v. Trinity Church*,† Vice Chancellor Sanford relied on it when deciding the case in favour of that venerable corporation.

Little did Bradford fancy in 1728, that his identical labour would be invoked one hundred and sixteen years after he had toiled at it, in defence of the rights of one of the noblest ecclesiastical foundations of our land; of that same 'Old Trinity' wherein he long devoutly worshipped; of whose councils he was a faithful member, and within whose sacred precincts his own dust with that of her who had been the partner of his love, would years afterwards be gathered in honoured age to

\* Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the Warehousing System, February 22d, 1849. (*Senate Documents 30th Congress, 22d Session, Doc. No. 32.*)

† 4 Sanford's Chancery Reports, 475.

await the voice of the Archangel and the morning of the Resurrection with its awakening and glorifying power !

Bradford edited his own paper until he was eighty years old ; when retiring from business, he transferred his subscription list to James Parker, who after 1743, conducted the journal.

It will ever remain to the honour of the Middle Provinces that the founders of their presses received all the patronage which even Letters should enjoy. Bradford's easy condition and that of his son is referred to in 1734 by Keimer in some verses, more instructive historically than poetically elegant, which he addressed to his patrons in Barbadoes, where he went from Philadelphia and was editing a paper which, from his own account, seems to have badly repaid him :

" In Penn's wooden country Type feels no disaster,  
 " The Printers grow rich : One is made their Post-Master,  
 " His father, a printer, is paid for his work  
 " And wallows in plenty just now in New York.  
 " Though quite past his labour and old as my Grannum,  
 " The Government pays him pounds forty per annum ;  
 " But alas ! your poor typo prints no figure like *Nullo* ;  
 " Cursed, cheated, abused by each pitiful fellow.  
 " Though working like slave, with zeal and true courage,  
 " He can scarce get, as yet, salt to his porridge.

From an early date, secretly perhaps with us, Bradford sought possession, by different establishments, of the two great cities of Philadelphia and New York, and, with the forecast which marked his understanding, appears to have seen that, possessed of these commanding posts, he would reduce New Jersey also into the list of his dependencies. His projects were justified

by the event. The earliest volume of the Laws of New Jersey, bearing date of 1709, has his imprint, under the Royal Arms, as "*Printer to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty for the Province of New Jersey;*"\* and, for much of a century afterwards, did this man, either by himself, his son, or his grandson, entirely command, as Royal Printer, the publick press in the three States of New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, then the most influential portion of America.

I have the honour here to shew you a volume printed by William Bradford whom we commemorate, Printer to King William and Queen Mary, another by Andrew Bradford, Printer to the Province of Pennsylvania, and a third by William Bradford—grandson to the first William—Printer to the Province of New Jersey. [The speaker here exhibited William Bradford's Laws of New York of 1709; Andrew Bradford's Laws of Pennsylvania of 1714 and 1728, and William Bradford, the 2nd's, Laws of New Jersey by Leaming and Spicer (1753); all Folios, elegantly bound.] Father, son and grandson, printers, every one of them, to Provinces or Crowns! Where or when did the printers' calling ever rise to greater worldly pride?

With the dissolution, in this land, of that Royal Government which he and his descendants in the first and second generation had served for near a century, the name of William Bradford appears with a higher and brighter and more honourable lustre in the person of his great-grandson, Attorney-General of these

\* A copy (small folio) of this rare volume is in the possession of Mr. H. C. Murphy, of Brooklyn, N. Y. Bradford printed the New Jersey Laws in 1717 also.



United States of America under their first Administration; the friend, trusted and confiding, of your own patriotick Hamilton, and with him the friend and counsellor, worthy so to be, of WASHINGTON; one of the purest and most accomplished and most engaging characters that this or any country has produced; whose death, in office, at the age of thirty-nine, at a moment when every virtuous retrospect and every animating hope seemed to give assurance of earthly happiness and honour, terminated, too soon for all who knew him, a career which longer life had rendered eminent among those which are identified with the brightest portion of our nation's history.\*

Though the subject of our memoir lived till an advanced age, I am not aware that after his establishment in this city, his history was distinguished by any of those interesting antagonisms which marked it in Pennsylvania. You were possibly, in those days, when Holland was still so preponderant in your ethnology, a more phlegmatick race than ourselves, although I know not that in this day there is any difference as to the degree in which we seek peace and ensue it. Each has given proof, at times, that civil and simple prohibitions, however excellent communications within the limits where it is safe to use them, are not exactly the most effective terms with which to address a portion of that population which Europe occasionally sends us. It is not perhaps the least praise of a man so long and so closely connected as Bradford was with the great engine of parties, that while he was a steady supporter of the administration of Governour Cosby and

\* See Appendix, Note 13.

Lieutenant Governour Clark against the fierce opposition made by the Weekly Journal of Zenger and the party of Van Dam who controlled it, he seems to have gone to extreme lengths with no one; but to have pursued a long career of creditable industry, unmarked by "those incidents which arrest the attention" "by agitating the passions of mankind." It was the natural result of such a course that he accumulated a large estate which he lived long to enjoy.

It is an evidence of Bradford's strong capacity, that, although "the darkness of old age" had now begun to invade him, and his concerns were both various and extensive, he should have carried himself and them successfully against the rivalry and interests of Benjamin Franklin. Through the whole term of Franklin's connection with the press in Philadelphia, the elder Bradford and his son or grandson conducted their journals with an ability which perfectly sustained them; and against the efforts, not very scrupulous ones either, of this celebrated man—to whom through four generations of their own families, they were constantly opposed, alike on concerns of business which touched very sharply the pecuniary interests of the great 'economist and calculator;' on the exciting feuds of Provincial politics, and finally, on the great question of the Stamp Act,—to which the Bradfords were actively opposed—and the course of the Colonies in the early stages of the Revolution, wherein these persons were bold and confident—managed the concerns of their offices generally with steady success and honourable liberality. Franklin, with all his address and all his power, and an animosity difficult to understand in

a temper so apparently placid as his, but equal to either, was never able to break them down. And in this country of quick changing names and scenes, it deserves a record, that long after the great philosopher and his successful rival in the business of printing, *Andrew Bradford* (son of that William whom we now commemorate) were mouldering in the dust beside each other in the quiet graveyard of Christ Church, in that same place where more than a century before, the 'king of printers' had been received and entertained a friendless boy by a son of the aged colonist\*—there yet stood, in a *fifth* generation—one hundred and forty years, at least, from the time it had been planted on that soil—pursuing still its labour, and bearing still its ancient and proprietary name, "THE PRINTING PRESS OF WILLIAM BRADFORD."†

William Bradford, whose career I have imperfectly sketched to you, closed his active and useful life on Saturday evening, May 23d, 1752, in his 90th year.

\* Franklin mentions in his Autobiography that when he first went to Philadelphia, in his 17th year, he dressed himself as neat as he could and went to Andrew Bradford, the Printer. "He received me civilly, gave me a breakfast; told me 'I should be welcome to lodge at his house and ' he would give me a little work to do now and then till fuller business should offer.'" (*Works of Franklin by Sparks*, i, 35.)

† It appears, from the imprint of many books yet to be seen, that this press was in operation at Philadelphia in the year 1825, being then still under the management of William Bradford, of New York, a great-great-grandson of the original founder of it in 1685. This gentleman was the last of this ancient family of printers; and it is calculated to inspire a sentiment of pathetic feeling that, with him, the office is finally closed. He left "no son of his succeeding."

The *New York Gazette* of the 25th of May, which announces his death, says of him :

“He was a man of great sobriety and industry, and a real friend to the poor and needy, and kind and affable to all. He was a true Englishman. His temperance was exceedingly conspicuous, and he “was almost a stranger to sickness all his life.”

Mr. Thomas records of him\* that, “on the morning of the day which closed his life, he walked over a great part of the city.”

Bradford's remains were interred beside those of his wife, on the Monday following his death, in the grounds of Trinity Church. A monument erected by the piety of surviving friends in that day has consecrated the spot till our times. Ancient and perishing however, it was irreparably injured in the erection of the noble pile which now stands beside the grave.

The Church Corporation, as many of you have witnessed, has this day done honour to itself and Bradford by placing there a new one of better workmanship and more enduring strength.

Few who witnessed the ceremony there this day, Trinity Church assembled in her corporate grandeur to do honour to her long departed son—the current of a mighty city's thoroughfare arrested for the better reverence†—while choirs, as if of heaven, were chaunting hymns around that ancient grave—will soon forget the august and touching scene. William Bradford, by the honours which Trinity has this day paid his memory, is made the earliest in that line of her worthies—

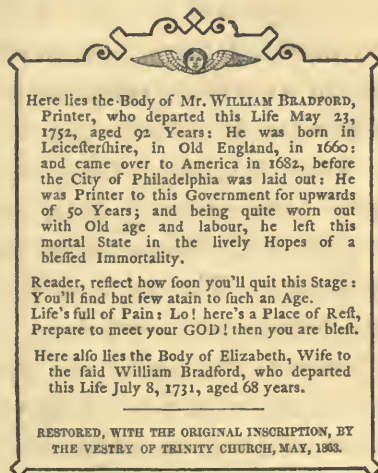
\* *History of Printing*, ii, 95.

† See *Supra*, p. 11, Introductory Note.



God's servants departed this life in His Faith and Fear—which Hugh Gaine, James Oram, and Thomas Swords, Printers and Publishers of New York, have brought in uninterrupted honour, even to this our day.

The new erection is of marble, unpolished. The proportion and shape and ornaments of the old stone are preserved; the dimensions, only, being enlarged. Under the rude figuring of a full-faced cherub, with stars and hour-glasses, and a wreath of evergreens, is the following inscription:



And now, men and women of New York, fellow citizens of the Middle Colonies of old, Countrymen, with me, of these greater, freer, dearer commonwealths, which under WASHINGTON became united into one Government—never, I trust, by traitors' arts or traitors' arms, by fanatick folly or fanatick fury to be rent asunder—is my poor narrative and this quaint epitaph the be-all and the end-all of the fame and influence of

William Bradford? Affuredly they are not. This celebration, whose solemn rites at Trinity a whole city has this day witnessed, and which to-morrow evening will crown with festive scenes, proves that the fame you cherish as yet begins; that only now, has Bradford's immortality on earth been first established firm. A hundred years from this day, by coming generations, I doubt not, ter-centenary honours will be paid his name in this the city of his love and longest residence as now you pay them on this the second and the smaller cycle. He by whom the Printer's Art was introduced to places which have grown to mighty cities, extending thence over mightier States, can never be forgotten. Your capitol at Albany shews in its ponderous archives, diligently sought of later days from Holland, from France, from England, from every part of Europe and now arranged with order and lucidity, that the day of your small things has become the pride of your present power. The name and early labours of Bradford are prominent I see among your glories. And when we arrive at the higher and better civilization to which we tend, with no other tribulations, I suppose, than such as Heaven designs to fit us for it, civick monuments perhaps will crown the fame of Bradford in this your city, as in Frankfort and in Strasburgh such memorials do the glory of their worthies Guttemberg and Faust.

Bradford we know first planted the printing press in these regions. He first maintained its rights against arbitrary power. He established in this chief city of our land, an influence the greatest which the world as yet hath known. How employed he that influence?

What liberty was it that the Printer exercised, of old ? These be questions which it is well for us to ask. There is liberty, and there is liberty. There is that blessed liberty with which Heaven makes us free ; there is that other liberty which Satan sends us, the cloak of his maliciousness. Was Bradford's press the press of our day ? Was his freedom used as we now use ours ? He lived in times when the fountains of human thought were largely opened. Religious questions were many ; political dissensions grave. Was he the agitator of vexed and vexing questions ? enamoured of strife ? intolerant of difference ? fierce in invective ? fruitful in denunciation ? Was his the press which invades the atmosphere of every man however great or however private ; which, with rude assault, tears away the decent drapery of life, and would explode with ridicule " the superadded ideas furnished from the " wardrobe of a moral imagination, which the heart " owns and the understanding ratifies as necessary to " cover the defects of our naked, shivering nature, " and to raise it to dignity in our own estimation ?" Did he seek the printer's gain by making the printer's Art the minister to ignorance, to fanaticism, to malignity, to faction or to violence ? Far otherwise indeed. His was a virtuous liberty, a liberty inseparable from religion, from order, from good morals, from good manners ; a liberty which education and self-respect and dignity preceded, and in whose train moderation, amenity, decorum and all the graces followed. It was freedom under that higher power ' whose seat is the bosom of God, whose voice, the harmony of the world.' It was Liberty

under Law. He worshipped Freedom, but he never thought of Freedom as dissociated with Government. Freedom and Government, Government and Freedom; complementary; never to be parted. In his long and active life, passed in many regions and where diverse rules prevailed, it was his fortune to be sometimes in opposition to the ruling powers and sometimes their trusted advocate. But in opposing administrations, he respected the principles of Government. In devotion to place, he never suffered violence to the spirit of Liberty. Happy, my countrymen, my countrywomen, the power and the freedom of such a press! Happier, perhaps, than these, succeeding times, if they regain our rich and early inheritance!







## APPENDIX.

NOTE 1, page 19.

**I**N France, the evidence of this takes a form that is amusing, as indeed, in the distribution of its honours, we must regard it also as one that is unjust. No one enters even the outer court of the *Imprimerie Nationale* of that great Empire, in the *Rue Vielle du Temple*, without having his attention arrested by a Monument erected in honour of the Founders of the Art so closely connected with that civilization in which France considers that she leads the world. Among these, as the representative of the first efforts in the New World, stands Franklin; not here tearing thunder from the skies, nor the sceptre from Tyrants, but exulting as an industrious mechanick in his Printing Press. He is exhibiting its wonders to a band of gazing savages; the inhabitants, as they are meant to be presented, of a place, just reclaimed from the wilderness, where first *he* showed the Art. Of William Bradford, the subject of our present sketch, such a representation would have been but the exhibition of a scene that many times might have been literally true. Along the Tacony and at Abington, where it is most probable that he established his press, the Indians remained, as on the Brandywine, for some time after they had been dispossessed by the Swedes and Fins of the soil on which part of the city of Philadelphia stands. This is shewn by Treaties yet in the Capitol, at Harrisburgh, which indicate and define the cessions made from time to time by our Aborigines. But when Franklin adventured his youthful fortunes at Philadelphia, in 1727, the press had been in operation there for more than forty years. Two generations of printers, with more than as many individual representatives, had been before him, and some of them were then

beside him. The Province had become rich and the press was in active and extensive operation. I fancy, however, that in most of the great improvements by which the world has been benefitted, the true author has not been the man who has been popularly received as such. Schoolmen must explain the matter, and shew in what compensations of some other world—future or now past perhaps—the matter is rectified; prove chance, direction which we cannot see; and “discord, harmony not understood.”

## NOTE 2, page 20.

**B**RADFORD'S tomb-stone in Trinity Church-yard, says that he was born “in 1660,” no day nor month being given. The whole inscription on the stone seems to be taken from an obituary notice which appeared in the New York Gazette just after his death. This, I presume, was written by James Parker, who would appear to have had but a general knowledge of the date which he gives in this indefinite way. The date in the Almanack, for the observation of which we are indebted to the late Mr. E. B. Corwin of New York, is probably more accurate, as having been made by Bradford himself, or at any rate, as having been seen and approved by him.

## NOTE 3, page 26.

**W**HERE, exactly, this press was established no research that I have been able to make enables me to say. Early imprints shew that it was ‘near Philadelphia.’ Mr. Thomas supposes that Bradford may have been at Kensington, not far from the Indian Tree. Abington has been suggested as also Burlington, N. J., in which last place Bradford's descendants were for many years among the principal people, and where, as is stated in the Introductory Note, his great-grandson, the Hon. WILLIAM BRADFORD, Esquire, Attorney-General of the United States under the Presidency of WASHINGTON, is interred. At this epoch, we are perhaps at the least favorable point for ascertaining the particulars of Bradford's history with truth;—too far off for knowledge from actual or transmitted recollections; not far enough away for the truth of the case as a matter of antiquarian history. Regarding the topick in this last point of view, it is to be noted that we are as yet but two hundred years from the date of his birth, and at the right distance only for giving an outline and massing of the colors. In the next century or two the focal distance will become better adjusted;

and I suppose that our infinitely great grand-children will be able to fill in the work and to give to it the finishing touches. Caxton died, I believe, A. D. 1490. The best and only complete Life of him (Mr. Blades's) has but now appeared (A. D. 1861). At this rate of progress Bradford's will be fully and accurately written A. D. 2034; when London and Paris in comparison of New York will be but villages. Honorable mention will be made, I hope, of the Bicentenary and the *Address*.

## NOTE 4, page 26.

A QUERE has been made whether Bradford did not first come to America in 1685; the ground of the doubt being a letter, given in the text (p. 25), by which George Fox introduces him in that year to various persons in this country. I think there is no sufficient reason for disturbing the hitherto received idea.

Without meaning to dogmatize where others dubitate, and quite ready to admit that if Bradford did *not* come with Mr. Penn in 1682, he escaped a very disagreeable voyage, I rather argue as follows:

i. Undoubtedly, the tradition, of which from ancient people, I have some knowledge, has always been that Bradford came with Mr. Penn.

ii. Dixon and Armstrong both so state it: one on one side of the Atlantick, the other on the other.

iii. In the Obituary of Bradford contained in the New York Gazette of May 25, 1752, it is said, "He came to America *seventy* years ago," (this would be 1682, the year of Penn's first landing), "and landed at a place where Philadelphia now stands, before that city was laid out *or a house built there*." This implied history about houses in Philadelphia would be, I believe, exactly true supposing him to have come in October, 1682, but would not be at all true supposing him to have come in the autumn of 1685. In the autumn of 1682, houses had, I believe, been built at Kensington, above Philadelphia (Fairman's House), and at Weccacoe, below it, but not in Philadelphia itself, where they were first built on Penn's arrival in that year. In 1685 there were, undeniably, many houses in Philadelphia. No doubt, whoever wrote the Obituary (James Parker, I presume), had heard Bradford mention this exact fact; one often stated, perhaps, in contrast to the extent and populousness of Philadelphia and the number of houses there when the statement was made.

iv. But stronger than all, his name is given among the names of persons



belonging either to Philadelphia or the adjoining "Lower Counties," under the date of "the 12th of y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> mo. 1683."—*Minutes of Provincial Council*, i, p. 27, Edition of 1838.

My supposition is that Bradford came, as has generally been believed, in 1682; took a survey of the country; returned to England, got married and came finally in 1685, with his press. Fox's letter looks much as if it had been suggested in many particulars by Bradford. The direction given by Fox to "settle what number" of copies of Bradford's publications or importations "each meeting may *take off*," favours much more of a publisher or importer directly interested, than of a "Friend in the Ministry;" though, no doubt, Friends in the Ministry, or in the Pennsylvania branch of it, had sometimes all the complement which the Gospel requires, to the harmlessness of Doves.

NOTE 5, page 29.

MR. Joel Munsell, a native of Northfield, Massachusetts, and born in 1808, whose establishment of himself at Albany in 1827, away from the great commercial centres of the country, has not prevented his becoming the *facile princeps* of a choice class of our typographers, has till lately been as well known, perhaps, to the elegant few as to the less discriminating many. His own fine perceptions and his persevering effort to introduce antique and ornamental printing into our country has of late however been so successful that even Fashion has now enrolled herself among his patrons, and, with the increasing wealth and refinement of the nation, we see in all parts of the North and East, efforts at a revival of the more beautiful forms of the ancient printer's Art. No typographer of our country, however, has carried his efforts in this line to the same extent or to the same degree of perfection as Mr. Munsell, whose various and elegant fonts embrace not only every antique *sort* that has issued of late from our own foundries, but every thing, as well, that England or France offers as a supplement. The literary and historical department of his Art has engaged this gentleman's time and study not less than that which addresses itself to the eye alone. In fact he has made typography, in its history and application, a special study; and his collection of works on this subject was so much the largest and best selected of any ever made in America, that the State authorities of New York, unwilling to risk a possibility of so precious a collection being dispersed hereafter, felt bound in



public duty to endeavour to secure it for the public benefit. Being still to be retained in the city of his residence, Mr. Munsell was prevailed on to relinquish it and it now forms a part of the beautiful State Library at Albany, New York. Like our own Bradford, of whom at the interval of one hundred and seventy-five years, he is now, in this respect a true successor, Mr. Munsell is not more distinguished in the business of typography than he is learned and skillful in its accessory of paper-making. No paper made in the United States exhibits the strength and beauty of texture which characterizes some that Mr. Munsell has had made for special works that have been printed by him. He is indeed himself the author of a learned work on this branch of labour; I refer to his *Chronology of Paper and Paper-Making*; an 8vo. published by him in 1860.

Mr. Munsell has been a literary contributor to numerous papers and magazines of our country, as well as editor of several. The following works, generally confined to very small editions, one or two hundred copies, may be referred to as among the more elegant issues of his antique press. I. Orderly Book of the British and Provincial Army under Major-General Jeffrey Amherst, against Ticonderoga and Crown Point in 1759. II. A Narrative of the Causes which led to Philip's Indian War of 1675 and 1676, by John Easton. III. Orderly Book of the Northern Army at Ticonderoga and Mt Independence, 1776—1777; with a portrait of Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates; annotated by the publisher. IV. Diary of the Siege of Detroit in the war with Pontiac, with the events of the Siege. V. Obstructions of the Navigation of Hudson's River, embracing the Minutes of the Committee of July 16, 1776; annotated by the publisher. VI. The Loyal Verses of Stansbury and Odell, relating to the American Revolution. VII. General Burgoyne's Orderly Book from his entry into New York until his surrender at Saratoga, 16th October, 1777. VIII. Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi; by Cavalier, St. Cosme, Le Suer and others. IX and X. Papers relating to the extinguishment of Indian Titles in New York. All these form part of his *Historical Series*. Phelps's History of Newgate in Connecticut, and Woodworth's Reminiscences of Troy from 1790 to 1807, annotated by Mr. Munsell himself, may also be mentioned in connection with his reproductions of the early style.

NOTE 6, page 30.

WHILE the French Letter Founders are undoubtedly greatly in advance of us in color and tints, in graceful forms, in combinations of all kinds; in flowers, in borders, in wheels, in *traits de plume*, and in every sort of ornament—it is not less certain that we excel them in the solidity and smoothness of our work. Let any man take the exquisite volume, as it truly is to the eye of taste, of Charles Dericy, whose letter foundry in the *Rue Notre Dame des Champs*, Paris, Nos. 6 and 12, is one of the attractions of that tasteful capital, and compare it with *The Specimens of Printing Type, Plain and Ornamental*, from the Foundry of L. Johnson & Co. in Philadelphia, and he will see what I mean. He will see that in all the French work (and the same remark is true of Foreign work generally), the lines are imperfect: the faces are not brought up; the types are less even. In short, exquisitely beautiful as the *effects* of the French work are, the types are often greatly deficient in accuracy of fitting and in perfection of face. Hence, if examined with a glass, or even by a good eye without one, they frequently appear irregular and broken. In fact, the defects of their type are largely concealed by the perfection of their press-work; by their skillful preparation of the form. They ‘over-lay’ and ‘under-lay’ with so much care and minuteness that you do not see, in the impression, that which is obvious in the metal. There is no doubt, either, that the copper used by the French for matrices is inferior to our copper. Indeed, where American orders are given for French work, it is generally requested that the steel may be driven in English or American copper only. Our Casting Machines, too, are better than theirs. The greatest improvements in this important branch have come from our own country. The hand-machine of my fellow-citizen, Archibald Binny, was greatly in advance, at the time he introduced it, of any thing known in Europe; just as much as the present engine, the invention of David Bruce, Jr., of New York—a true genius in this department—is in advance of Binny’s. With such an invention it is no wonder that the foreign letter-founders ask Americans who visit their work-shops, as I know they do ask,—“How is it that your ‘bold face’ is so excellent every way—so solid, so smooth, and nowhere sunk?” Our great defect is in good taste. We have taste enough—more than enough—but it is bad taste very frequently; elaborate vulgarity—

“Endless labor all along;  
Endless labor to go wrong.”

"We have made great advancee in a right direction of late. The *Specimens of Printing Type, Plain and Ornamental* show this. Our Schools of Design will greatly benefit us. Let us encourage their efforts in the typographick direction. Let us study Greek forms, Etruscan forms. There is no beauty besides in the whole world. Gothick may do for 'wheels.' Our abilities, our appliances are ahead, I think, of the people of Europe. What we want is thorough education in Art; more patience; less economy. We think in this matter, as in graver ones of State and War, that every man can do every thing; a vast mistake indeed. In the department of the Press especially, we drive things too hastily. We do not allow even our paper to ripen. We rarely roll it. Our ink is too cheap. We will not pay our men enough to become *artists*. The French take more pains, give more time, pay more money.

## NOTE 7, page 35.

SOME of Caxton's books declare themselves to be 'Printed *in* the Abbey of Westminster.' Others that they are printed *at* Westminster. The idea has been generally had, until lately perhaps, that Caxton's press was "*in* the Abbey;" either in the Scriptorium or the Almonry; this last occupying, as Dr. Dibden supposes, the spot where now stands the Chapel of Henry the VII. There is no doubt that the press was fixed somewhere within the Abbey precincts. An argument has been made against its being *in* the Abbey from the dirt which a printing press would have caused there. I know not exactly how much dirt a small press would cause any where; nor what Caxton's typographical habits were; nor how nearly the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, in those days, held sinfulness and dirtiness to be identical. But I know that if any gentleman will now visit the Abbey Church of Romsey—Lord Palmerston, the Premier's Church, and where his father, mother and sisters are interred—the most exquisite specimen of Norman Architecture in all England—he will see—if he sees what I did in 1857—one of the Apses of that exquisite structure walled off, and converted into the town Fire Engine-House. It was, moreover, an uncared for and disorderly place even for the receptacle of such coarse apparatus. I remember that as I looked at the spot—dirty, defecated and almost destroyed—I could not but recall the noble service of the '*Pontificale*' performed near eight hundred years ago within those very walls, and which had dedicated the place as one thenceforth to be separated from all unhallowed, worldly and common uses, "*immunes ab omni*



*vulgari strepitu et negotio ; ut Domus orationis ad aliud nullum commercium atque usum accommodaretur.*" (See the service, "*De Ecclesiæ Dedicatione seu Consecratione.*") Romsey is not the only Church in England which remembers it but badly.

## NOTE 8, page 37.

I AM not able to discover that Bradford was attended by any one who could give him the least assistance in his art, unless perhaps his wife, who may perhaps have assisted him in reading proofs: and of this there is no evidence. Little has come down to us of the lady who became Mrs. Bradford. Of another of Mr. Sowle's daughters who remained single, a sister of Miss Elizabeth, we have an entertaining notice in the *Life and Errors* of the eccentric John Dunton, originally published in 1705, and several times reprinted. It would appear that, on the death of her father without any male descendant, the hereditary establishment, as is not uncommon in England, was maintained by herself. Dunton says as follows: "Mrs. Tacy Sowle is both a printer as well as bookseller, and "the daughter of one, and understands her trade very well, being a good "compositor herself. Her love and piety to her aged mother is eminently remarkable, even to that degree that she keeps herself unmarried "for this only reason (as I have been informed), that it may not be out "of her power to let her mother have always the chief command in her "house. I have known this eminent Quaker for many years, have been "generously treated at her house, and must do her the justice to say, I "believe her a conscientious person. If any blame me for being thus "charitable, I can not help it, for I can not think it a piece of religion "to anathematize from Christ all such as will not subscribe to every one "of my articles. I do believe sincerity and holiness will carry us to "heaven with any wind and with any name; at least I have so much "charity as to think all those persons go to heaven, whether they be "Churchmen, Presbyterians or Quakers, in whom I see so much "goodness and virtue as is visible in the life and conversation of Mrs. "Sowle."—[*Quoted in Encyclopædia of Literary and Typographical Anecdotes, London, 1842, p. 693.*]



NOTE 9, page 42.

The following are Bradford's printed Proposals for printing the Bible and accompanying it with the Book of Common Prayer; the original orthography, capitalization, &c., being retained:

“ Proposals for the Printing of a large BIBLE  
“ by *William Bradford*.

“ T Hese are to give Notice, that it is proposed for a large house-  
Bible to be Printed by way of Subscriptions [a method usual  
“ in *England* for the Printing of large Volumns, because Printing is very  
“ chargeable] therefore to all that are willing to forward so good (and  
“ great) a Work, as the Printing of the holy Bible, are offered these  
“ Proposals, viz.

“ 1. That It shall be printed in a fair Character, on good Paper, and  
“ well bound.

“ 2. That it shall contain the Old and New Testament, with the  
“ Apocraphy, and all to have useful Marginal Notes.

“ 3. That it shall be allowed (to them that subscribe) for Twenty  
“ Shillings *per Bible*: [A Price which one of the same volumn in *England*  
“ would cost.]

“ 4. That the pay shall be half Silver Money, and half Country Pro-  
“ duce at Money price. One half down now, and the other half on the  
“ delivery of the Bibles.

“ 5. That those who do subscribe for six, shall have the Seventh gratis,  
“ and have them delivered one month before any above that number shall  
“ be sold to others.

“ 6. To those which do not subscribe, the said Bibles will not be al-  
“ lowed under 26 s. a piece.

“ 7. Those who are minded to have the Common-Prayer, shall have  
“ the whole bound up for 22 s. and those that do not subscribe 28 s. and  
“ 6 d. *per Book*.

“ 8. That as encouragement is given by Peoples subscribing and pay-  
“ ing down one half, the said Work will be put forward with what  
“ Expedition may be.

“ 9. That the Subscribers may enter their Subscriptions and time of  
“ Payment, at *Pheneas Pemberton's* and *Robert Halls* in the County of  
“ *Bucks*. At *Malen Stacy's* Mill at the Falls. At *Thomas Budds* House

“in *Burlington*. At *John Hasting’s* in the County of *Chester*. At  
 “*Edward Blake’s* in *New-Castle*. At *Thomas VVoodrooffs* in *Salem*.  
 “And at *William Bradford’s* in *Philadelphia*, Printer & Undertaker of  
 “the said Work. At which places the Subscribers shall have a Receipt  
 “for so much of their Subscriptions paid, and an obligation for the de-  
 “livery of the number of Bibles (so Printed and Bound as aforesaid) as  
 “the respective Subscribers shall deposit one half for.

“Also this may further give notice, that *Samuell Richardson* and  
 “*Samuell Carpenter* of *Philadelphia*, are appointed to take care and be  
 “assistant in the laying out of the Subscription Money, and to see that  
 “it be employ’d to the use intended, and consequently that the whole  
 “Work be expedited. Which is promised by

“*William Bradford.*”

“*Philadelphia*, the 14th of  
 “the 1st Month, 1688.”

NOTE 10, page 50.

I HAVE mentioned above in Note 4, that a quere has been lately raised whether Bradford was in America any time prior to 1685; the date of George Fox’s letter of introduction of him to Fox’s own friends. His examination before the Governour and Council was in 1689; and a passage in his report of that proceeding affords perhaps the strongest ground which there is for the quere. Bradford says in it: “I have been here  
 “near four years and never had so much s<sup>d</sup> to me before.” I understand Bradford to mean, however, that he had been ‘here,’ *i. e.* in the city of Philadelphia, where the Governour and Council were sitting—‘near four  
 “years;’ established ‘here’ as a printer. This is consistent with his having come on a visit in 1682; and even with his having been fixed for a certain time without a press in the Lower Counties, now the State of Delaware: or at Chester in Pennsylvania, Burlington in New Jersey, or even at Germantown or Abington in Philadelphia County. It is not supposed that he was established, with his press, in Philadelphia prior to the autumn of 1685. The entry in the Provincial Minutes (vol. i, p. 27, edition of 1838), of his name under the date of “the 12th of y<sup>e</sup> 7th  
 “mo. 1683,” rather shews that he was at that date south of Philadelphia, or at least that he lived somewhere where “tobacco” grew; which was perhaps in the Lower Counties or near them. As I presume that he was

engaged to be married prior to coming in 1682, I suppose that he did not remain long here; no longer than was necessary to see where best to establish himself when he should come with a wife, and permanently.

Since the body of this pamphlet has been printed, Mr. Frederick Kidder, to whom I refer in a note on page 26, as having been the possessor in 1853 of a copy of Bradford's Almanack of 1686, writes to me as follows: "It is not at present in my possession. It was, I should say, a 16mo of some twenty pages, and in the first page after the title had a sort of preface which gave some account of the introduction of printing into Pennsylvania." It is most desirable, of course, that the present place of existence of this tract, obviously one of great interest as respects our subject, should be discovered. And I shall take it as a favour done to me personally, as it will also be an important service done to the history of early printing in America, if any possessor of the document, unique so far as I am aware, or other person, will inform me where it now is. From this prefatory page mentioned by Mr. Kidder, and written doubtless by Bradford himself, we may recover a history otherwise irreclaimably lost. The Almanack of 1686, it will be observed, was a pamphlet: herein being a greater work than its successor of 1687; a broad-sheet only.

NOTE 11, page 60.

I HAVE some practical knowledge of the *Censuras* in Rome. In 1858-9, happening to be there at the time, a little girl of my acquaintance lost a favorite poodle dog. The distress in the house was extreme. My aid was invoked. I thought at once of a hand-bill and reward: and hastened forthwith to the printing office in the *Via Babuino*. The advertisement was short; offering Ten Scudi to anybody who would bring the said poodle, describing him as having a silver collar and gold bells round his neck, &c., &c., to his disconsolate owner, *No. 56 Via Condotti, 2udo Piano*. Arriving at the office I handed my manuscript, not exceeding three lines, to the foreman of the office. Had I aimed a seven-barrelled revolver at him, the poor man would not have looked more terrified and amazed. '*Ab signore! e impossibile! Non posso. Sarei presto in carcere,*' St. Angelo plainly was before him! 'There was no *permesso* on the paper!' I answered that it was only an advertisement for a poodle dog: that the little creature was quite young, and might die of starvation or be trod under foot and killed, if left to run



about all day. The matter "required speed." 'Ah, your Excellency, that makes no difference. I should like to oblige your Excellency; but 'I must have the *permessos* before I can print anything'—was the reply. There being no appeal from either the manner or the substance of this, I took the man's directions to the Censuras and drove off at full speed. I got the *Politico*; but before I could get the *Ecclesiastico*, for which I had to cross the Tiber, the office was closed. The next day and the day following it were *Festas*. Neither the *Abbate* who gave the *Permessò Ecclesiastico*, nor the *Stampatore*, would do anything. Their offices were both shut. On the third day I got the remaining *permesso* and had the handbill, with its generous reward, struck off and placarded early on the fourth. About 'twenty-four o'clock,' as they call it at Rome, that is to say, about sun-down of that same fourth day, a provokingly pleasant-looking Italian walked into my ante-room, with the poodle—dead! The little animal had come to the man's house, or rather, I suppose, had been feloniously carried there, and carefully guarded for three days. On the fourth, however, pet poodle had escaped for a moment into the Corso. The Duc de Grammont's heavy carriage happening to be passing by at that same moment, terminated the story. It went straight over poor poodle's neck, silver collar, gold bells and all!

## NOTE 12, page 67.

THESE two papers, so fortunately discovered by Mr. Brodhead, are probably, as he supposes, the earliest issues of Bradford's prefs: for though Bradford's appointment dates, as Mr. Moore has discovered, from the 10th of April, 1693, we know that his 'tools and letters,' which had been seized by the religious faction in Philadelphia, were not restored to him until April 28th, or afterwards, of that same year (*see supra* 57-8), on which day, just named, the Governour and Council ordered them to be surrendered to him. He could thus have hardly got his prefs in operation at New York before June 8th when the papers now discovered are dated. The original of the paper printed on page 67-8 may be seen at Albany in the Colonial manuscripts (XLIX, 139). It is printed in the Documentary History of New York III, 253, quarto edition, or 417-8, octavo edition; though by a blunder of the printer of that work the imprint by Bradford is omitted. Mr. Brodhead has suggested to the State authorities at Albany that this, the earliest issue of the prefs of their State



and now perhaps unique, should be reproduced in fac-simile as Bradford's proposals to print the Bible with the Common Prayer have been in Philadelphia. The thing would be generally gratifying. A document so precious ought not to be left in a single form of existence. If done, the reproduction should have as a counterpart the still more curious Dutch form of the paper discovered by Mr. Brodhead in the Archives of the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church in New York.

It is a curious fact in the early history of New York that the money collected throughout the Provinces to redeem captives sold into slavery on the Coast of Barbary went finally, the prisoners having been redeemed otherwise, or being unredeemable, into the Treasury of Trinity Church. (*See Documentary History of New York*, iii, 419, *octavo edition*.) It was an early application of the Chancellor's doctrine of *Cy-pres*; made in accordance, however, with the Proviso in the licence to collect the money.

## NOTE 13, page 93.

**T**HIS eminent person, it was confidently supposed, would, but for his death at this moment, have succeeded Mr. Edmund Randolph who had just then retired from the office of Secretary of State.

In 1784, Mr. Bradford intermarried with Susan Vergereau Boudinot, only daughter of the Honourable Elias Boudinot, LL. D., of New Jersey. This pure and gentle lady, whose character displayed every beneficent, every amiable virtue, and whose manners presented a charming union of courtliness with amenity, long resided at Burlington, New Jersey, with unimpaired powers, and unabated loveliness of spirit; illustrating hereditary wealth and station by the graces of an honourable hospitality; to numerous friends and connexions, the source of kindness, and the object of pride and pleasure. She died November 30, 1854, far advanced in her 90th year. Mr. Bradford had two sisters; both, in their respective spheres, as eminent as himself for superiority of mind, and exalted excellence of moral virtue. One of them was married to the Honourable Elisha Boudinot, Esquire, of Newark, New Jersey, the other to the Honourable Joshua Maddox Wallace, Esquire, of Burlington, in the same State; names, both of them, connected in New Jersey with the Federal politics of Washington; an honourable distinction in their own day, and a greater one perhaps in ours, which now vindicates the wisdom of his opinions.

The following is the inscription upon Mr. Bradford's monument in St. Mary's Church Yard, Burlington, New Jersey :

Here lie the remains  
of  
WILLIAM BRADFORD,  
Attorney General of the United States  
under the Presidency of  
WASHINGTON;  
and previously,  
Attorney General of Pennsylvania and a Judge  
of the Supreme Court of that State.

In private life  
he had acquired the esteem of all his fellow citizens :  
In professional attainments,  
he was learned as a lawyer and eloquent as an advocate ;  
In the execution of his publick offices,  
he was vigilant, dignified and impartial.

Yet  
in the bloom of life ;  
in the maturity of every faculty  
that could invigorate or embellish the human mind ;  
in the prosecution of the most important services  
that a citizen could render to his country ;  
in the perfect enjoyment of the highest honors  
that publick confidence could bestow upon an individual ;

Blessed  
in all the pleasures which a virtuous reflection  
could furnish from the past  
and animated  
by all the incitements which an honorable ambition  
could depict in the future,  
He ceased to be mortal.

A fever produced by a fatal assiduity  
in performing his official trust  
at a crisis interesting to the nation,  
suddenly terminated his publick career,  
extinguished the splendour of his private prospects,

and  
on the 23d day of August 1795,  
in the 40th year of his age,  
consigned him to the grave,  
LAMENTED, HONOURED, AND BELOVED.













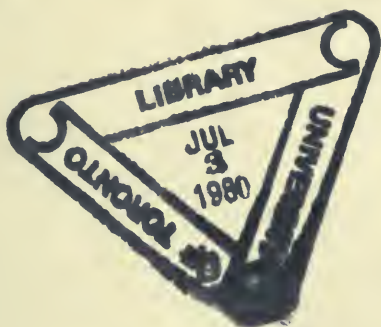




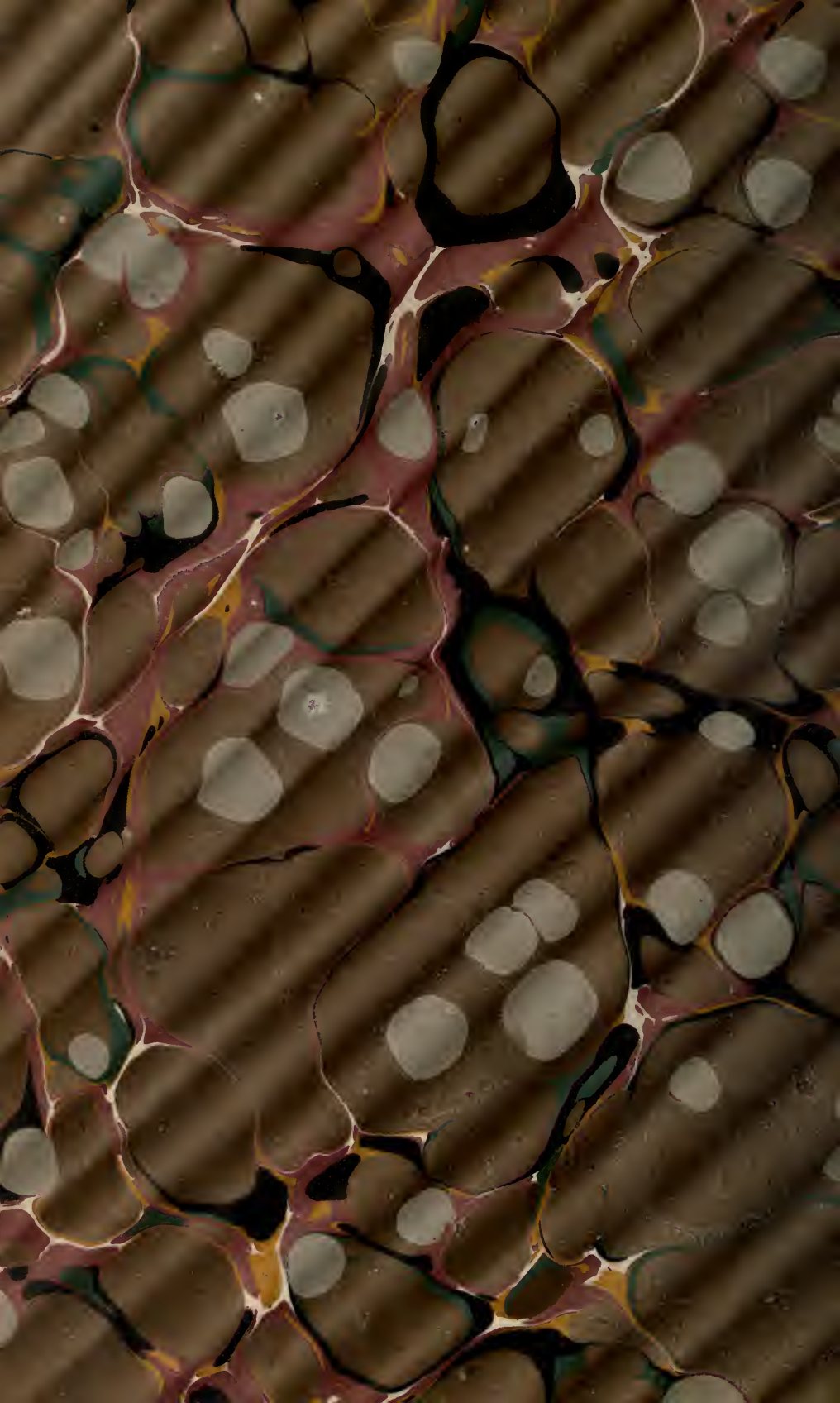
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Wallace, John William  
An address delivered at  
the celebration by the New  
York historical society, May 20,  
1863



